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THE HARRISON ADMINISTRATION.

BY SENATOR DAWES, OF MASSACHUSETTS; SENATOR DOLPH, OF OREGON; AND SENATOR COLQUITT, OF GEORGIA.

SENATOR DAWES:

THE administration of President Harrison must be judged by its character, its capacity, its work, and its purpose. By these tests let it stand or fall. The character of an administration is its personnel and its methods, its instruments and its instrumentalities. It is not enough that the head of an administration be clean and his purposes above reproach. Those through whom he acts must be clean also. An administration cannot long remain healthy if the atmosphere it breathes is impure. There have been lamentable failures of men in high places who in character were stainless, and whose aims were upright, but who lacked the ability to discern between good and evil in the agents necessary to the discharge of their official functions. How is it with the present administration? Succeeding a Democratic one, which had all the agencies of the government filled with those devoted to the propagation and maintenance of the doctrines and policies he had been summoned to reverse, it was incumbent on President Harrison, at the outset, so to change the personnel of the government that the agencies for carrying it on should be in accord with the principles and purposes he had been chosen to maintain and pursue. In what manner has he met these condi-

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tions? He called into his Cabinet, as his advisers, men who commanded at once the fullest confidence of the country; some of them already so tried in the public service that they had been designated by common consent for the places they filled. Some of them were new men in public life, but brilliant service has in each case proved the sagacity and wisdom of the selection. Subordinate offices have been filled with able and clean men; commendation of this administration does not demand or claim that there has been no exception. In the vast machinery of this government in operation at a thousand points, many of them thousands of miles beyond the eye of the Executive, it never has been and never can be the case that men who operate it will in every instance prove themselves fit and faithful. But one who has witnessed the successes and mistakes of administration in this particular during nine of these quadrennial periods, challenges, without fear for the present administration, a comparison with any or all of the others.

It has fallen to the lot of President Harrison during the years already elapsed to appoint more judges in the higher courts than any other President has done in a like period since the organization of our judiciary system. There can be no doubt that the general public judgment, with singular unanimity, is that the judiciary is to-day stronger in its own character and ability and in the public confidence by reason of these appointments.

It is an open and a frank administration. There is no deceit in its make-up or its practices. If there have been disappointments, they have grown out of differences of opinion and not from concealments. It has avowed its opinions and policies in open day, and with a clearness of statement that admits of no doubt. And it has that courage of its convictions that does not hesitate to announce before, and not after, election, its attitude towards any question, however disturbing, that may agitate the public mind.

What this administration has done in these three years of its existence tests its capacity. And here its record will carry it triumphantly through any ordeal to which it can be subjected by a scrutinizing public. The foreign intercourse of the nation has during that period encountered an unusual number of delicate and difficult questions, all of which have been treated with signal ability and wisdom. And there remains, as far as is known, no unsettled question that can disturb our peaceful relations with any of

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the nations of the earth. Our diplomacy was never in abler hands. Its achievements, from the Samoan complication bequeathed by its predecessor, to the Behring Sea arbitration, its greatest triumph, with which this its third year closes, form an unbroken series of signal successes. Treaties with Germany, with France, and with Spain, the Italian imbroglio at New Orleans, the Chilian complication, and a series of commercial treaties to be considered in another connection, have lodged in the State Department imperishable proof of diplomatic ability unequalled in recent history. The nation is stronger in its foreign relations, and its rights on the high seas and in foreign jurisdictions are more strictly enforced and more cordially respected, than when the portfolio of State came under its present control.

If the Treasury, from the nature of the duties devolving upon it, furnishes a less brilliant record than the State Department, it has yet been no less safe in the management of our finances. No wild experiments with our monetary system have shaken public confidence or disturbed values. Business throughout the country has reposed on the faith it has placed in the methods and movements of those who have had in their keeping the keys of the Treasury vaults. No concealments of purpose, nor sudden and fickle manipulations of the public funds, have bred distrust or made capital timid. No scandal has touched the name of its officials, but with clean hands it has closed its books each year, and pointed to its balances as proof of its health and vigor. Its Secretaries have treated with those engaged in the great business enterprises of the country not as enemies, but as promoters, helpers, stimulators of lawful business. They have never tampered with the currency, nor sought by any legerdemain to make seventy cents count a hundred and gain the difference; but they have met all honest demands with honest dollars.

The other Departments have been in equally able hands. The Navy Department has sprung into a new life; and with the vigor of a strong man has taken hold of itself, and has shaken the accumulated dust of years out of its seams. Rehabilitation has already so far advanced that confidence and national pride have joined hands with necessity in pushing forward the work, and a new navy worthy of our national power and prowess is now well nigh assured. Failure can only come from loss of national control by the Republican party. Each of the other Departments has cor-

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rected abuses where they existed, has improved methods, and transacted the public business with a fidelity and dispatch unusual and commendable. Desertions from the army, hitherto deplorably frequent, have almost entirely ceased, and the tone and pride of the whole body of the soldiery has been elevated. The ever increasing and multiplied duties of the Post-office Department have been discharged in a business-like manner, never so satisfactorily to the public as now. Its revenues were never so great, nor have its expenditures, large as they are, ever yielded such gratifying results. So it has been with the Interior Department, with a wider range of duties than any other, increasing and becoming more complicated and perplexing daily. It has met them all with an ability equal to all its difficulties. In the Land Office chaos has given place to order, and the settler on the public domain, no longer regarded as a public enemy, is building his home in peace. In the management of the Indian Bureau the rights of the Indian have come to be as secure as those of the white man, and from the unoccupied lands of the reservations more than twenty millions of acres have been opened for settlement and divided into homesteads for the pioneer. The new Agricultural Department has taken such hold of the country under the present management, that nothing but political revolution can unloose its grasp. Each one of these Secretaries can open his portfolio to public scrutiny without fear, and can safely challenge criticism upon what has been accomplished as well as upon the methods of accomplishment.

There have been six new States, with a territory in all larger than that of the original thirteen, added to the Union since the election of Harrison. Four of them had been knocking at the door for years and were resisted under the last administration as long as it had life to resist. But for that election all of them would have been territories still.

The Pan-American Congress has vindicated its right to be, in the closer commercial relations it has established with Mexico and the South American republics. Knowledge of the character and needs of their markets has stimulated our producers to supply their demands. Our commerce with them is in consequence daily increasing, and that increase gives larger employment to home capital and labor. The Bureau of American Republics has become an intelligence office of incalculable value in every trade

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and manufacturing centre and at every depot of agricultural products in the land.

The "McKinley Tariff" is a measure of this administration enacted in fulfilment of its pledge so to revise the tariff that while the aggregate revenue should be diminished, protection to American labor and capital should not be impaired. While not perfect (no law ever yet was), and while it may in some respects require modification, as every tariff law before it has done, it still has accomplished both these ends. It has so enlarged the free list that for the first time in the history of the country the value of goods imported free of duty exceeds that of dutiable goods. It has, at the same time, so readjusted the duties on the dutiable goods, after this greatest addition in value to the free list ever made, that the duties paid on the goods still dutiable do not now exceed in per cent. those paid under the old law, including duties then paid on those goods now added to the free list, being forty-seven and one-half per cent., both before and since the passage of the McKinley Bill; while the percentage of the whole duty on the value of the entire imports has been reduced from thirty-two per cent. before, to twenty-one and one-half per cent. since the passage of that law. At the same time that this reduction has been accomplished, protection to the home producer and the home market, home capital and home labor, has been made more effective. Nothing in this law has contributed so much to the double purpose in view, that of reducing by enlargement of the free list the aggregate of duties imposed and of making protection to the American producer more effective, as the provision regulating by law commercial treaties with nations producing raw material and other products which are necessary for our consumption but cannot be profitably produced at home. Under this provision we obtain an exchange of equivalents of the highest value to our national prosperity. For the admission, free of duty, of raw material and other products not producible here at profit and in quantities needed, we in turn are admitted into the markets of other nations, free of duty, with articles we make and they need. No other method could be devised so effective to make production at home cheap, and to multiply it by enlarging our market. This increases our export trade, already reaching the enormous sum of $1,100,000,000 in a single year, and, with that will increase our carrying trade, our shipping interest, and our commerce.

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The space allotted to this article will not permit of further detail, however inviting. Much must necessarily be omitted that would well justify discussion in a review of the three years of the work of an administration conspicuous for the many important questions with which it has had to deal, in both our foreign and our domestic relations. But what has already been said is enough for a just judgment. Nothing has been here withheld, from an honest criticism of which its supporters have occasion to shrink. Of this conduct of public affairs the President has been not only the official head but the guiding spirit. Able as have been his advisers, and visible as their hand has been in this work, yet it has been at all times under the direction and control of the President himself, and in furtherance of his own aims and purposes. In it he has firmly and justly maintained the honor and rights of his country before all nations, as well as the rights of his countrymen at all times and in all places. With frankness and without hesitancy he has on all proper occasions declared the principles upon which the government is administered, with a clearness and force of diction seldom equalled. He has borne himself in all things as becomes the Chief Magistrate of a great nation.

HENRY L. DAWES.

SENATOR DOLPH:

IT HAS been apparent for some time that President Harrison will be renominated. Undoubtedly, the popularity of Mr. Blaine, were he a candidate, would render him a formidable competitor for the nomination; but with Mr. Blaine out of the race,—and he is out, as evidenced by his recent letter,—there is no candidate likely to create any considerable opposition to Mr. Harrison. If ever a President deserved the indorsement of his party by a renomination on account of fidelity to party principles and an able administration, it is President Harrison; but principles are of more importance than men, and success should not be jeopardized in order to promote the political fortunes of any man, however deserving. Mr. Harrison's loyalty to the principles of his party is such that he would not jeopardize its success for a moment to promote his personal ambition. Can a stronger man than Mr. Harrison be nominated? Whatever opposition there is to his renomination is not based upon any objection to his administration;

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that has been clean, strong, and patriotic, and any candidate who could be nominated would have to run upon the record he has made. Neither is it based upon any alleged lack of ability, capacity, or courage. He has not acted as if he regarded the declarations contained in the national platform, upon which he was elected, as meaningless platitudes, but as if he regarded them as controlling statements of the principles of the party, entitled to receive his careful consideration and earnest support.

Upon the great issues of the day he has held no uncertain position. He has, to the extent of his legitimate influence, aided the party in its efforts to redeem its pledges to the people, and sought to promote its principles. His appointments, made only after due inquiry and deliberation, have, in the main, been highly creditable. His judicial appointments, which have been more numerous than those of any other President, have been especially commendable, and highly satisfactory to the bar and the general public. As was to be expected from a man so conspicuous for patriotism and distinguished services during the War of the Rebellion, his administration has been liberal toward the veteran soldiers, who, when the life of the nation was in peril, endured the hardships and dangers of the march and the battle to preserve the Union. The liberal legislation of the last Congress, which redeemed the party pledges to this deserving class of citizens, secured his willing approval; and where, owing to legal technicalities, an applicant has been unable to secure a pension under general laws, and Congress has declared by special enactment that a disabled soldier or his widow was entitled to relief, he has not interposed his judgment or the veto power to thwart its will.

Under the present administration the United States has had a vigorous, well-defined foreign policy—a policy under which the rights of the United States have been fearlessly and ably asserted whenever the occasion required it. The prompt action of the administration in our controversy with Germany preserved the autonomy of the Samoan Islands; the considerate, but firm and dignified, position of the administration secured suitable acknowledgment and apology from the Chilian government for the assault in Valparaiso upon American sailors. By the recent treaty with Great Britain a peaceful solution of the Behring Sea controversy, which at one time threatened to involve us in war, has been happily provided for, and the cause of international

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arbitration promoted. It should be stated that President Harrison is entitled to full credit for these triumphs of diplomacy; and, while the President and the Secretary of State have been in full accord, the dispatch (owing to the illness of Mr. Blaine, which has at times prevented his close application to business) conveying our ultimatum to the Chilian government, and the dispatch to Lord Salisbury so admirably and forcibly stating our just claims to some arrangement for the protection of seal life until the convention had decided our claims in the Behring Sea controversy, were both written by the President.

Both of these State papers are models of terse English and vigorous reasoning, are clear and concise statements of international law, and are highly creditable, not only to the administration, but to the nation. The predictions that President Harrison's administration would lack personality, and that he would be overshadowed by members of his Cabinet, have proved false. His administration has been intensely personal. The President may have failed to satisfy radical reformers by the progress made in civil service reform, but it is a fact that the Civil Service Commission has been active, aggressive, and impartial in enforcing the civil service laws and regulations; that the President has been in full sympathy with the Commission, and has done much—by the extension of civil service rules to the appointment of some seven hundred employees in the Indian Service, and to the employees in the Fish Commission; by the elimination of politics from the administration of the navy yards; and by providing for the promotion of clerks and other employees in the Departments for merit—to advance civil service reform and check the spoils-system. By his influence and active coöperation, the pledge of the party to revise the tariff and maintain the protective system was redeemed by Congress in the enactment of the McKinley tariff law. The influence of the administration has been unmistakably in favor of a stable currency—a currency every dollar of which is as good as a gold dollar, and the President's well-known opinions and public utterances on questions of finance have done much to preserve public confidence and promote business prosperity. The objection made in some sections to Mr. Harrison's renomination on account of his opposition to the free coinage of silver in this country without an international agreement fixing the ratio between gold and silver, and at the same time opening the mints of the principal commercial

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countries of the world to free coinage of silver at the agreed ratio, is one that could be made to any candidate who could possibly be nominated. There is no probability that the Minneapolis convention will declare in favor of free coinage of silver. No candidate for the Presidency could avoid declaring his position on the silver question. Neither is it probable that the Democratic convention will declare for free coinage of silver, and in such case there will be no choice between candidates on account of their views on this question.

Mr. Harrison has offended some prominent Republicans by his appointments. With the independence possessed by him it is not to be wondered at that in some cases the recommendations of his political friends have been disregarded and he has acted in accordance with his own judgment. Probably this has been done in cases where a more politic course would have been better for him and his party and as well for the public service. In such cases he appears to have acted according to his convictions of right and without regard to the question as to how his course would affect his personal popularity or his political advancement.

The charge that he is cold and unsympathetic is a charge that was made against Washington and other public men. That he is a Christian gentleman of irreproachable personal character, in favor of all political reforms and interested in all movements for the elevation of the race, cannot be denied, and no one questions his fidelity to his friends. When the man who, of all Republican leaders, is nearest to the popular heart had been defeated by Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Harrison defeated Mr. Cleveland in turn, although the latter had the power of the administration on his side. It is true that by the tariff message of President Cleveland and the action of the Democratic House the tariff question had been forced to the front and made the issue of the campaign ; but this shows that the verdict of the people in a Presidential election is for principles and not for men. No man will be elected President on account of his gracious manner, but whoever is elected will be chosen because he represents certain great principles, and is believed to possess the ability, courage, and honesty that will insure his fidelity to them. Mr. Harrison is an earnest, honest man, who aims to walk with firm step the path of duty, and who regards politics not as a means of personal aggrandizement, but as a means of securing the greatest prosperity for the

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country and the greatest happiness for the people. No one can question his ability. His messages and public writings are not excelled for clear and forcible presentation of public questions, for fearless advocacy of the doctrines of his party, and for lofty patriotism. His speeches during the campaign, and since his election, show a critical knowledge of public questions, a wide range of information, great versatility and power of expression, and have never been equalled by similar addresses by any man upon like occasions. Upon the whole, the present administration has been as able, conscientious, and beneficial to the country as any which has preceded it.

J. N. DOLPH.

SENATOR COLQUITT:

IN THESE comments upon President Harrison and his administration, it is proper to say that they are in no respect dictated by any feeling of party prejudice or personal animosity. I readily admit his ability, his integrity, and his many worthy traits of character. But I may, within the limits of the strictest decorum, scrutinize the conduct, the character, and the tendencies of his administration and the policies of the party he represents.

When he became President he found his party in undisputed possession of the government for the first time in fourteen years. The Republicans had controlled the Presidency, the Senate, and the House, but not the three at any one time, from March 4, 1875, to March 4, 1889. For the four years last preceding there had been a Democratic President and a Democratic House of Representatives, so that the Republicans were merely a party of opposition and protest, easily made effectual by their majority in the Senate.

The campaign of 1888 was fought by the Republicans, for the first time since 1860, upon another's record rather than their own, and upon their promise, in the event of success, to legislate for what should be the best interest of the country.

Given by that election unlimited power, the new administration assumed from the start the complete responsibility which belonged to it, suggested such policies as seemed desirable and expedient, and proceeded to carry them out, as far as possible, by legislative enactments. What a grand opportunity! There was

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distress, there was calamity, there were clamors everywhere. The people, searching for the source of their calamities and a remedy for them, naturally turned their eyes to the incoming administration. They found in that administration neither sympathy nor relief.

President Harrison had been in office twenty months and the new Congress had finished a session of ten months when the first general election occurred. The Republican party experienced the worst defeat in its history; it lost half its membership in the House of Representatives, and retained control of the Senate only by the admission of six new States, let in, some of them, with less than the necessary population, in order that the political complexion of that body should not be changed. The administration party profess to believe that later elections have materially altered the situation and their prospects. This is disputed, and nothing but the election in November will settle the matter.

If I were asked to give my opinion of the causes of this decidedly adverse, and, in my judgment, entirely justifiable popular verdict, I should say that they are all comprehended in the administrative policy of governing the country for the particular benefit of certain classes and interests, and using, directly and indirectly, all legislative and executive powers to that end; these classes and interests forming a narrow oligarchy in opposition to the needs of the multitude.

One of the most signal and unquestionable characteristics of the present day is the struggle of labor against capital, of the weak against the strong, of the undisciplined many against the organized few—a struggle of those who would enjoy the fruits of their own labor with those who would enjoy the fruits of the labor of others; between money and the masses, between those who create wealth and those made wealthy by partial legislation, by the mystery of banking and the regulation of coinage.

In this struggle Republican policy and administration have yielded to the demands of the strong and encroached upon the rights of the feeble. By special opportunities afforded by law, by unfair taxation, by bounties for the few, by burdens for the many, by legalized iniquities, they pursue the cruel task of squeezing money from the pockets of an impoverished people, from the toil, the sweat and the drudgery of the hardworking poor. The government is no longer regarded as intended to protect the rights of

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all, but by class legislation to elevate the few. The boast that there has been an aggregate increase of wealth is not a worthy boast, unless there has been a proportionate increase of the means of happiness. It is not a worthy boast when that wealth is attained at a sacrifice of the real interests of the people. There are signs of increased luxury among the rich. The increase of wealth has added to the gratification of the few, but this has been followed by a falling off of the means of the many. The aim of all just and economical policy should be not merely to stimulate the greatest production of wealth, but to distribute among the greatest number—not an equal but an equitable distribution. The reverse of this has been the policy of the Republican party in its unjust discriminations. The result of this policy has been to torture industry, to turn it from its natural channel, to beget antagonism of class against class, each trying to gain advantage by legislative favor. Hence private wealth and public want abound, and we have the anomaly of increased wealth and no diminution of poverty.

The Democratic party in its platform of 1856 declared in favor of "progressive free trade throughout the world," and the Republican party, though nominating its first Presidential candidate that year, and seeking popular and available issues, declined to accept the Democratic challenge. With the exception of a casual reference in 1860 no mention was made of the tariff in a Republican national convention until 1872, and then the only doctrine advanced was a tariff for revenue with incidental protection. Adherence to this policy was announced in succeeding years, but it was not until 1888 that the party openly avowed itself in favor of a tariff for protection only—a tariff which not only would not raise revenue, but would reduce it, or cut it off altogether, as imports were checked or entirely prevented. This illustrates the active and constant advance of the money power.

The McKinley Bill was a complete exponent of this new, unfair, and un-American policy. It sought to reduce revenue by raising duties, and permitted the home manufacturer to fix the amount of his profits by allowing him to determine the rate of duty to be paid on the foreign product, or to destroy competition, if it so pleased him, by duties that forbade it. To sustain the false pretence that this was a farmers' tariff the duty was raised on corn, oats, oatmeal, wheat, wheat flour, cheese, butter, and hay, though we export more than we import of each of these articles,

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and the price of wheat, whether sold here or abroad, is fixed by the price in London.

The reciprocity features of the bill simply intensify the favoritism displayed by its promoters and advocates. They are designed to create a market for our manufactured goods, which are to displace so much of our agricultural products. At least seventy-five per cent. of our exports go to Europe while not five per cent. go to South America. Over fifty per cent. find a market in Great Britain, chiefly products of agriculture. Our coffee from Brazil is mostly paid for in wheat and cotton sold in London. Reciprocity of this kind is intended to encourage trade with South America and discourage trade with Europe; to assist our manufacturers in disposing of their wares to the south of us and to lessen the opportunities of our farmers to sell their products to the east of us. Our farmers want the best market for their wheat and cotton, with the privilege of cheap manufactured goods—it is denied them. Manufacturers desire the best market for their goods and cheap agricultural products in return—it is accorded to them.

Our manufacturers contend for cheap freights, subsidized fleets, and free trade with South America. They have their way; reciprocity is for them. Our farmers would like the same privileges in Great Britain and all Europe that manufacturers seek in Brazil and other South American countries, but they can't get it.

Free trade for our manufacturers in South America is reciprocity, and all right; reciprocity for our farmers in Europe would be free trade, and, of course, is all wrong.

The same spirit of favoritism and close adherence to special interests has all along characterized the financial policy of the administration. The entire weight of its powerful influence has been thrown on the side of the advocates of the single gold standard, who, successful in demonetizing silver in 1873, have ever since been earnestly aggressive in their endeavors to make money, which they control, dear, and everything that money buys, cheap. In spite of the law of 1878 which declares standard silver dollars a legal tender for all debts, public and private, the administration has continued to treat the more than 400,000,000 of these dollars since coined as mere token money, redeemable like paper money in gold, and it refused, with plenty of them in the treasury, to discharge a part of our bonded debt, preferring to

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continue it rather than pay it in silver. And this, too, in the face of a resolution of Congress adopted fourteen years ago by a two-thirds majority in each House that payment of the public debt in silver was in violation of no contract and in derogation of no creditor's right.

The "Force Bill"—happily never enacted into law—was directly in line with this policy of a popular government by a part of the people for their own benefit. The Southern States are opposed to special privileges arising from either a protective tariff or the single gold standard. Without Federal interference they will continue to send representatives in favor of constitutional money and constitutional revenue laws. Their determined opposition to a Republican tariff and financial legislation is reason enough, in the opinion of these specialists, why their elections should be controlled from the Federal capital and by the Republican party.

The limitations of this article will not admit further discussion. The errors of this administration and its policy may be summed up as follows: First, restrictions on commerce; second, burdens on agriculture; third, bounties to manufacturers; fourth, excessive taxation; fifth, profligate expenditure of the people's money; sixth, contraction of the currency; seventh, Federal interference with State elections.

These are enough to defeat the claim of the present administration and the Republican party to a continuance in power.

A. H. Colquitt.

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MODERN REVOLUTIONS AND THEIR RESULTS.

BY KARL BLIND.

You ask me to give an article "showing the result of the labors of great revolutionists in our times, and the acquiescence of the European world in projects which were regarded as wholly destructive and inherently evil." It is a vast subject on which a great deal might be said. Still, in accordance with your wish, I will dash off a brief sketch, adding those anecdotal points and reminiscences which you suggest. Let me begin with a republic! When we were young, the Swiss Confederacy was an ill-assorted conglomerate of aristocratically-governed or priest-ridden cantons, each of which maintained its own sovereignty, to the detriment of all political cohesion. An ultramontane Separatist League (*Sonderbund*) was eating into its vitals. Neighboring monarchical powers, jealous of the progress of popular freedom, or aiming at the dismemberment of the Alpine Commonwealth (this was the design of the French Government), did their utmost, in order to tear off some slice of Swiss territory, to favor the schemes of the Jesuitic Secessionists, and to prevent the reform of Switzerland at large. The political helplessness and disgrace of that loosely-knit Confederacy was looked upon by royalist reactionaries as a mainstay of European order.

I vividly remember the breathless interest with which we followed for years the attempts made by the revolutionary free corps of "Young Switzerland," as it was called, to unseat the priestlings and the haughty patricians in various cantons. I recollect the delight with which the successful barricade fight and democratic revolution of Geneva was hailed. That local revolution was the harbinger of the final triumph of the Liberals over the "Sonder-

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bund" which took place in 1847. The first token of German sympathy was sent in that year to the Tagsatzung—that is, to the representatives of the Swiss people—from Mannheim, then one of the headquarters of Radicalism. The address was drawn up by the writer of these recollections, and passed for being a bold step indeed, so oppressive and so tyrannically Argus-eyed was the rule of the princely Diet at Frankfort. Switzerland, regenerated by the overthrow of the Separatist League in a series of battles, gained immensely in freedom and national unity as well as in military effectiveness. In most cantons an excellent system of popular instruction has since been introduced. A citizen army of over 200,000, with an additional landsturm or last levy of 262,000, guards the independence of the country. No power at present thinks of encroaching upon Swiss sovereignty or territorial integrity. In some ways the constitution of the mountain republic has latterly even served as a model for France; namely, as regards the election of the executive, including its president, by the combined two legislatures (*Stände-Rath* and *National-Rath*). Had this been done in France as far back as 1848 instead of appealing to the ignorant masses for the election of a president, Louis Napoleon would never have had a chance of rising to supreme power, and twenty years of vile despotism might have been spared to that country.

I do not wish to dwell too much on what has been achieved in Germany. Time was when her prisons were filled with thousands of men, young and old, whose crime consisted in having aspired to the restoration of our unity as a nation and to the convocation of a parliament. The flower of our university youth were kept for years in dungeons. A "Central Commission of Political Inquisition," established at Mayence, extended its ramifications everywhere. The national tricolor, secretly worn by students under the shirt, was treated as a symbol of high treason. Eminent patriots, like Jahn and Arndt, who had powerfully aided in the overthrow of the Napoleonic yoke, were subjected to the meanest persecution, although their political moderation, their adherence to kingly government, was beyond a doubt.

All this occurred soon after the wars of Liberation, when the German people had sacrificed their blood and their treasure in a tremendous struggle. The princes, restored to power, broke in many cases all faith and promises made in the hour of danger. The

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Prussian king, Frederick William III., was foremost in this perfidy. No parliament was granted by him, in spite of his solemn promise. The same in Austria. In both countries it required an armed rising, a fight on the barricades, in 1848, before the people's wishes were fulfilled and their rights acknowledged.

The French Revolution of July, 1830, and the Polish rising which came in its wake, had for some time given a fresh spur to the hopes of German Liberals. Curiously enough, however, shortly before 1848, some of the best men, weary of waiting, seemed to lose much of their confidence in a near future of deliverance. This strain of melancholy feeling I detected in several of the chief leaders of the Liberal cause, who then honored me with their fullest trust, in spite of the great dissimilarity in our ages. I remember such conversations with Adam von Itzstein and Welcker, the prominent champions of the Constitutional movement, and with Professor Kapp, the philosopher, all members of the Baden Chamber. Kapp imagined "a hundred years might elapse before a fresh great Revolution would come." Even Frederick Hecker, who, with Gustav von Struve, afterwards bravely led the Republican rising of 1848, had a few years before, in a fit of despair, resolved upon pitching his tent in Algeria, never to see Germany again. Hecker was then in the prime of life, not far advanced beyond thirty, but in his temperament given to sudden ups and downs. I do not know how it was that some of us, much younger than he, foresaw with certainty, as in a bright vision, what was inevitably coming. It seemed a thousand pities that a force like Hecker should be lost. An address of Heidelberg citizens, suggested and drawn up by me and sent to him, recalled Hecker from his Algerian roamings and projects to serve in the Baden Chamber. All over Germany, in the early part of the Revolution, which broke out a few years later, there was no name more popular among the masses than his.

I pass over the dynastic Reign of Terror which came after the defeat of the popular upheaval, as well as over the "fratricidal war" of 1866 and the truly glorious war of 1870–71. Looking at the present German Empire, I confess I am one of those who do not regard our national unity as complete without our former federal provinces of Austria, which we lost in 1866. Nor do I, considering what even Italy has achieved, admire the complicated system of the existing German constitution, let alone parlia-

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mentary government in the true popular sense. Still, thinking of the days when we had, ever and anon, to go to prison under a charge of high treason—a fate once shared even by my wife—when, for the sake of a united and free Germany, we fought, with arms in hand, were court-martialled, and loaded with chains day and night in underground casemates; remembering all this tumultuous strife and those sufferings in solitary confinement within fortress walls, it is impossible not to feel that some success has been achieved, in spite of that temporary terrible reaction which in 1849 swept hundreds of thousands into a gory grave or into exile in distant lands. Germany has now a central parliament of her own. The censorship of the press is abolished. No longer are criminal charges before her courts of justice dealt with in secret by Government-appointed judges; but juries decide now, in accordance with our oldest national custom. Communal self-administration also has become a reality. A uniform criminal code and a common code of civil procedure have been introduced. There is uniformity of coin, weight, and measure now; whereas, formerly, each State, large or small, maintained, in all these things, a system of its own, to the almost incredible disadvantage of trade and commerce. No man can buy himself free any more, by money, from the duty of defending the Fatherland, as was once the case in some German States. Schleswig-Holstein, which rose heroically in 1848–50, but was betrayed by princely governments, is now an integral part of Germany. So is Alsace-Lorraine, thanks to a war frivolously forced upon us by France. Again, a navy has been created, and thus the glorious traditions of our Hanseatic League have been revived, only with a wider national scope. More recently, the German flag has been planted in colonies beyond sea. All these results are in accordance with the aims of the revolutionary movement of 1848–49; and we can but hope that, by and by, there will be some further progress in the same direction.

Was not Italy once "a mere geographical idea"? Prince Metternich satirically said so, and he wanted to keep her in that condition. Even when, in the days of the Revolution, more than forty years ago, republics were founded at Rome, in Tuscany, and in Venice, the outlook soon became gloomy again for the Italian nation. French and Austrian troops overthrew these commonwealths. A belief gained ground amongst but too many

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that long political subjection had rendered the people of the peninsula unfit for a sustained strenuous effort.

Here, a little personal fact may be mentioned. When at Paris, in 1849, as a member of a diplomatic mission from revolutionized southwestern Germany, I found the French capital in complete turmoil, owing to the attack made by the army of Louis Bonaparte upon the Roman Republic, which was then governed by Mazzini, Saffi, and Armellini. Under the leadership of Ledru-Rollin and other chiefs of the "Mountain" party, an unsuccessful attempt was made to overthrow Napoleon. The great demonstration in the streets which marched along the Boulevards to the National Assembly was dispersed by General Changarnier. I happened to be at the very point—the Rue de la Paix, close to the Madeleine Church—where the cavalry rode into the mass of men. By the merest chance I narrowly escaped the sword thrust of one of the police, who, preceding the troops for the seeming purpose of a legal dissolution of the manifestation, sprang with tiger-like agility into the crowd with drawn weapons.

Being some days afterwards—quite without reference to this event—arrested, in violation of the laws of nations, as one implicated in the attempt to bring succor to the Roman Republic, I used the involuntary leisure afforded me in the prison of La Force for beginning the study of Italian. I did so in a doubly curious way—namely, first, by taking up Silvio Pellico's book, "My Prison Life," which had a French translation at the bottom of each page; and by not using any grammar or even dictionary, but going straight into the language, with the aid of French as well as Latin lore. Later on I filled up the gaps by a more systematic application. What I thus had learned in prison, from the work of one who had suffered cruelly in dungeons for the cause of his own fatherland, stood me afterwards in good stead, when coöperating for many years with men like Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Saffi.

What dreary years of apparent hopelessness they, like other exiles, had to go through! I had known Felice Orsini, and I remember the shudder that went through the popular parties of Europe when, at Paris, on a gray winter morning, amidst snowflakes thickly falling, his head rolled into the basket of the guillotine. Again, I remember the confidential preparatory meetings held in Mazzini's little room for that Sicilian rising of 1860, into the planning of which Garibaldi—for reasons I cannot

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here explain—was at first not initiated. Yet, after the insurrection had been kept fully alive for six weeks under Rosolino Pilo, it was by the landing of the Thousand that the leader of the Red Shirts brought that revolution to a triumphant issue. I remember the special message Garibaldi sent to me through a trusty person before he started for the heroic expedition which failed at Aspromonte. He wished to inform me of the urgent reasons which compelled him to act, so as to prevent a dark plot hatched between Napoleon III. and Ratazzi—a plot directed both against Mexican independence and against Germany on the Rhine. I remember the confidential conversation I had with Garibaldi at the Isle of Wight in 1864, before his triumphant entry into London, when, as the appointed speaker of the London Germans, I presented to him, in company with Freiligrath, Kinkel, and a number of prominent compatriots, an address of welcome. Venice was then not gained yet for Italy, nor was her natural capital, Rome.

The dreams of Italian patriots, at least as regards the unity of their nation, are now realized. No longer is the peninsula a mere "geographical idea." Though not a republic, the country is at any rate not troubled by any complication of different dynastic interests. Much has yet to be done for the material welfare of the peasant and artisan classes. Proper stress is laid upon this—as I find from private intercourse—by that eminent historian and statesman, Professor Villari, now a member of the Cabinet, who came last year to London as one of the delegates to the Inter-Parliamentary Conference of deputies from various countries. If France and Russia were not possible causes of disturbance to the peace of Europe; if Italy, happily bound in alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary for mutual defence, were not compelled, by the dangers lurking in the West and the East, to keep up costly armaments on land and on sea, the bettering of the lot of her working classes would certainly be an easier task. "But expensive as these armaments are, it would cost Italy much more," as the *Riforma* has rightly said, "if she were to lay herself open to the risk of an attack."

This is the third French Republic since 1792. With what enthusiasm was its second proclamation hailed, in 1848, throughout Europe! Unfortunately the peasant masses—two-thirds, or more, of the population at that time—were still sunk in ignorance; thanks to the outrageous state of popular instruction,

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which had been neglected in spite of the many revolutions the country had gone through. In many departments, in 1848, more than seventy-five per cent. were unable to read and write. Even so late as 1865, there were departments with 60, 65, 69, 72, and 75½ per cent. similarly situated. I recollect that in 1848 there were peasants who believed Napoleon I. to be still alive, and that the Bonapartean Pretender, who was a candidate for the Presidency, was this identical *petit caporal*. Other peasants were made to believe by reactionary agents that King Louis Philippe had been driven from power by a palace revolution, in which Duke Rollin (*le Duc Rollin*, that is, Ledru-Rollin) and his courtesan, La Martine (Lamartine), were the chief actors! When Napoleon III., in 1854, paid a visit at the English Court, he, with cynical amusement, told the Prince Consort that on his way with the Empress Eugénie to Biarritz the people through a large portion of the South of France cried: "*Vive Marie Louise!*" (The consort of Napoleon I.). Napoleon III. also told Prince Albert that on a former journey he had heard cries of: "*Enfin voilà le vieux revenu!*" ("At last the old one has come back!")

With so backward an agricultural population, great care ought to have been taken as regards the system of political suffrage. The whole class of electors under Louis Philippe had not comprised more than about 200,000, an absurdly small number among about 35,000,000 people; that is, something like 10,000,000 males. Yet it was no less a mistake to extend the suffrage the day after the Revolution of February to the whole male population. At all events, the knowledge of reading and writing ought to have been made a condition to the exercise of the vote. And, furthermore, electoral districts might have been so arranged for a while as to give to the more cultured cities a proportionately larger representation than to the benighted country districts; all this, it need not be said, only as protective measures for the time being, until the rural males should become better educated.

This is a question on which I have had many an earnest discussion, during long years of proscription, with Ledru-Rollin ("the Father of Universal Suffrage"), Louis Blanc, and other French friends. Ledru-Rollin certainly would never hear of such restrictions. His name was too much historically bound up with the introduction of unlimited universal suffrage. Louis Blanc, privately, readily acknowledged the force of arguments

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which had the maintenance of the Republican cause for their object. Still, he, like some others, always ended by saying that he dared not move in the matter. It is difficult, indeed, to go back upon a measure of that kind, if once it is passed. Looking at the course of events no one can deny that universal and equal suffrage, without any modification, has given France twenty years of political serfdom under Napoleon, and finally brought about for her a great downfall as regards European standing.

Very few French Republicans—to this, too, I must testify, however reluctantly—foresaw the full danger involved in Louis Bonaparte's election as President. How often we were at issue with them between 1849 and 1851, in pointing out the probability of the success of a *coup d'état*, unless they were able to forestall it by timely action! Our friends uniformly underrated the capabilities of "Badinguet" or of that gang of needy adventurers who surrounded him. "Even if he attempted a *coup d' état*," they often said, "he would fall under the weight of universal derision!" They were badly awakened from their optimistic dream in the night of December 2. I may add that I was startled, a few years ago, on finding that the Boulanger danger was equally underrated by my French Republican friends—not only by the younger ones who had not had the experience of the gradual coming up of Napoleon III., but even by some of the older generation, who had themselves gone through imprisonment, transportation, and exile under Louis Bonaparte. This want of judgment in men otherwise distinguished as writers or scientists, and even prominent in political affairs, impressed me most painfully. I wrote to them letter after letter full of warning. It is true, when the danger had at last come to a head, and a few more days of hesitation might again have decided the fate of the Republic in the Cæsarean sense, all these friends at last saw clearly into the matter; each of them, by letter, then acknowledged to me, with a degree of contrition, that he had been wofully in error as to the character, the aims, and objects of Boulanger.

The neglected intellectual condition of the peasant population had been a main cause of the destruction of the French Republic of 1848. Another cause was the impracticable communistic theory which had gained hold on a numerically small but ardently active group of Democrats, whose propaganda culminated at Paris in the terrible street battles of June, 1848. It is now a

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well-established historical fact that Bonapartist and Royalist agents had helped to fan the flame of this insurrection for purposes of their own. Victor Schoelcher, the veteran French Senator, proved this years ago; and Louis Blanc, too, Socialist as he was, acknowledged it. When the alienated brothers of the Republican party, the Moderates and the Socialists, had grasped each other by the throat, and thousands had been killed or transported, the prospects of the Napoleonic Pretender became brighter; for he posed on the one hand as a "Savior of Society" and "Restorer of Order," and yet, on the other, tried to keep in touch with advanced Socialists.

Add to this that, unhappily, the Republican party, in a great many of its members, was tainted then with the policy of conquest in the direction of the Rhine. From such policy to Cæsarism is but a step. Republicans and Bonapartists had often been mixed up in a common conspiracy, both under the Bourbon Restoration and under Louis Philippe. "To tear up the Treaty of 1815"—by which Germany, after all, had simply reacquired a portion of her own, and the Netherlands had been restored to her independence—was a common expression of French Democrats and Imperialists for many years I have had bitter personal experience of this state of feeling among my French friends. Whilst upholding their Republican cause in public I had many a private encounter with them on this hankering after the Rhine frontier all along the river. With frequent entreaty I urged the better-minded among them, shortly before the war of 1870, to do all in their power towards preventing an outbreak of hostilities, "as it could only entail a signal defeat, and a well-merited one, upon their country." None of them believed in this latter possibility.

It was in 1869 that one of those aggressive Chauvinists, suddenly losing all control over himself, said, in my own house, before compatriots of mine: "When France shall be a Republic again, we shall march on the Rhine, even if we get the whole of Germany upon our back! (*même si nous aurions toute l'Allemagne sur le dos*)." I replied: "Take care; for if once you have her on your back, you will not get rid of her very soon! (*Prenez garde! Si, une fois, vous l'aurez sur le dos, vous ne vous débarrasserez pas d'elle si vite!*)" I then rose, as a sign that further conversation on this subject was not desirable. Our fire-eating French friend, whom I had never before suspected of such sentiments, and with

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whom I had coöperated until then in the heartiest manner in the cause of Mexican independence and of President Juarez against the usurper Maximilian, soon afterwards made his exit.

The German victories practically gave France the Republic. Much has been done within the last few years to found a thorough system of popular instruction; and that is one of the most promising features of the present commonwealth—let priestlings rave as much as they like against a "Godless Republic." In the interest of European freedom in general we must hope that that which has been regained through defeat on the battlefield will not be jeopardized anew through senseless military adventures. A French victory—the most unlikely thing in such a case—would saddle France with the rule of the successful general, when once more the Republic would go down. A renewed overthrow of French arms—which may be predicted with safety—would be the overthrow also of the system of government under which the defeat had taken place. Napoleon I., when beaten, was followed by a Bourbon restoration. Napoleon III., when beaten, was followed by the Republic. The Republic, if beaten, would have to make way for a Royalist régime. All sensible wellwishers of progress anxiously desire, therefore, the maintenance of peace, rejoicing meanwhile in the continued existence of the third Republic, which has already outlived the usual span of life of the various forms of government in France since her great Revolution.

When a number of the most eminent generals and statesmen of Hungary were strung upon the gallows at Arad, in 1849, there were but few who believed in the future resurrection of the self-government of that country. How thankful Magyar exiles were for anything which a few men of other nationalities did, during dreary years of oppression, in the way of an advocacy of the claims of their nation! By the persistent labor of Francis Deak, and through the victory, first of the Italian cause on the fields of Lombardy, and then of Prussian arms against Austria, Hungary regained her autonomy to the fullest extent conformable with her safety against Russian and Panslavic designs. She is one of the oldest Parliamentary countries of Europe, and her Parliament now reigns supreme. Those once prosecuted as guilty of high treason occupy the foremost positions in the land. Kossuth himself is only a voluntary exile. Hungary has a perfectly free press, and the largest amount of self-administration in town, vil-

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lage, and country. She has also a national militia of her own, as a safeguard of her institutions. In short, the Hapsburg dynasty has had to bow down before the vanquished. Sometimes I think of the evening when Count Teleki, after a friendly dinner at which General Klapka, the German poets Freiligrath and Kinkel, and the writer of this article, were present, left London to go back to his native land, where soon afterwards he mysteriously ended his life by a revolver shot. When I compare the condition in which Hungary was even then with what it is now, the transformation is only a degree less wonderful than the one effected in Italy, where a monument is being raised in honor of Mazzini by the Government and the Parliament of Italy, the king himself contributing 100,000 lire.

Shall I speak, in conclusion, of Poland? I have seen General Skrczynecki, one of the leaders of the war of Independence of 1830–31; Lelewel, the historian; and Worczell, the ex-Senator, all men of that famous and heroic rising which ended with the "restoration of order at Warsaw." In 1849 I aided, in France, in the negotiation with General Mieroslawski for bringing him over to a command during the German Revolution. I have known General Langiewicz, the Dictator of the Revolution of 1863–64. Through the envoy of the secret National Government at Warsaw, Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, and I had been informed, many weeks beforehand, of the very day when that rising would begin, which took the whole of Europe by surprise. The case of Poland has, therefore, always been present to my mind. But though Switzerland has been reformed in our time; though Germany has been reconstructed; though Italy is now made into a nation; though France has regained her republican institutions; and though Hungary also has achieved an extraordinary success, Poland still awaits her reembodiment. To most men that may seem well-nigh an impossiblity now. Yet, if the Russian Government were heedless enough to venture upon an aggression in Europe which would bring upon her a retribution by a coalition of Powers, even Poland might get her chance. In that case, the present generation would, in all likelihood, see a notable reconstruction, tantamount to the building up of a protecting wall against the inroad of a political barbarism which aims at "making Europe Cossack."

KARL BLIND.

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A SILVER SENATOR REVIEWED.

BY MURAT HALSTEAD.

THE Hon. Wm. M. Stewart of Nevada, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Mines and Mining, opens his interesting paper on "The Rule of the Gold Kings" by excepting France from his general denunciation of the leading nations of the commercial world upon the accusation of refusing to receive silver coin as money of ultimate payment. Then the United States is set apart as "treating silver coin as credit money" depending for its value upon a promise of payment of gold; and all administrations of the Treasury Department are charged with discriminating against silver and in favor of gold in the payment of national obligations.

France values silver, under the ratio, three per cent. higher than we do, and maintains silver legal-tender coin, precisely as we do, by refusing to silver the liberty of the mint, or equality with gold at the mint, and by providing, as we do, for the redemption of "silver as credit money," by covering the margin—by which, under the coinage ratio, it is of less market value than gold—with the more steady and precious metal. The maintenance of bimetallism in France is by the limitation of the coinage of the cheaper metal. Senator Voorhees, in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, making a plea for silver, held that the French mint was, as it had been for generations, free to silver as to gold; but Senator Stewart mentions that "France, in 1875, ceased to coin silver." The Senator does not undertake to say why France so long ago "ceased to coin" the metal he holds in such high estimation. She did so because she had as much of it as she could safely undertake to redeem with gold, knowing perfectly that the value of the silver coin as a basis was the market value, and that all above that, on the face of the coin,

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was artificial, and must be made good, on demand, in gold. There is no one in France who does not know, or seem to know, that free silver coinage would mean the silver standard, and that this relegation of gold to the condition of merchandise, and its consequent banishment, would be a misfortune of the first magnitude; and the degradation of the public credit of France is not a thing possible with the knowledge, consent, and advocacy of the French people.

The Senator from Nevada says our administrations of the Treasury Department have since 1873 discriminated against silver coin and in favor of gold coin in the payment of national obligations, and that France pays the public creditors in gold and silver, "whichever is most beneficial or convenient for the Government;" and here the Senator ventures to contrast the administrations of France and the United States, stating that the French have obeyed and the United States disregarded the law. The Senator from Nevada is as completely in error in this as the Senator from Indiana was in his presumption that free silver coinage prevailed in France, and had done so for seventy-five years.

There is a true distinction in the management of coin by the French and ourselves that should be carefully noted, that false assumptions may be better defined. The French are a specie-handling people. Enormous amounts of gold, silver, and copper coin are in the pockets of the French, preferred to paper. We prefer paper. There is more silver in circulation in France than in the United States, because the French would rather have it than paper representatives of money. Americans prefer the silver certificates to the silver coin, or to gold as we coin it. If there is a fault in the Government in this association it is because we coin gold in pieces too large to circulate freely, and issue paper in notes too small—in the one case providing gold in shape for reserves, and in the other consulting the popular convenience. It is perhaps an American preference that it is better to wear out the paper than the gold or the silver.

It should be taken into consideration also that the United States is a silver-producing country and France is not, and we, therefore, have favored silver by forcing its coinage and purchasing it in great quantities as a basis for notes. The Senator from Nevada is not as specific as he should be when he charges that

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hostility to silver has been the policy of all administrations since 1873. It was in that year that what the Senator regards as the crime of the century was committed. This he styles the demonetization of silver. The awful event was the dropping of the coinage of the standard silver dollar, during a time of profound suspension of specie payments, and the temporary substitution of the "trade dollar." There was no silver or gold in circulation. Before reaching specie payments, the argument prevailed that debts made when "gold and silver" always meant "coin" should not be payable in one metal only; and the coinage of silver in legal tender form was resumed. In the eighty years before the "demonetization of silver" we had coined eight millions of silver dollars; in the eighteen years following this frightful "crime" we coined four hundred millions of silver dollars. When half dollars were unlimited lawful money we coined in that form eighty-two millions of dollars. In the eighty years before the awful crime of the century, discrimination against silver, was perpetrated, we coined ninety millions of lawful money in all amounts, in silver, and, in less than one-fourth that number of years since, we have coined more than four times that sum of the standard silver dollar. This is surely the most startling form that hostility to a money metal ever took.

As one Senator recently remarked to another on the floor of the Senate, "gold coin" mortgages in California being under discussion, "Do not let it occur again." The honorable Senator, who is Chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining, says the Government discriminates against its own money, if it happens to be silver. Is it then the duty of the Government to force the money metal that is the cheaper upon its creditors? How should Congressmen be paid their wages? How are they paid? They can take gold, silver, or paper, as they please, and their preference is paper, and that nine times out of ten is of silver certificates. Should they be forced to take the silver coin itself! Would there be propriety and public beneficence in refusing the honorable Senator from Nevada "gold coin" if he should call for it? The Senator is mistaken in assuming that public obligations are paid exclusively in gold. Public and private debts are paid all over this country in silver paper. The gold and gold certificates are held in reserve. The attempt to force the silver standard has been marked by the men who do business in money, and

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they propose in that event to make a profit on the premium on gold and are prepared to do it.

Meanwhile, debts are paid in silver certificates. Only abroad is the question raised that a silver certificate may not be worth as much as a gold certificate; and here the silver agitation merely causes a reserve of gold. It is, of course, the depreciated money that runs first through the channels of commerce. The Senator from Nevada denounces those who hold, as he says, that silver money is not honest money, and he includes in the sweep of his wrath both the political parties, and quotes, to assail, ex-President Cleveland and President Harrison. The Senator is not delicately choice and accurate in his language. Silver money is as honest as any other money, so long as it is as good as the best in purchasing power. It possesses an intrinsic value measured by the world's standard—gold, that has rendered it at the lowest point worth 66⅔ cents on the dollar more in itself than the paper dollar. In redeeming paper, gold has to make good one hundred cents on the dollar, but the margin on silver that has to be made up is only 33⅓ cents. The dishonesty would be in dropping from the gold to the silver standard, reducing in ability to buy in market all salaries, pensions, life-insurance policies, building-association certificates, wages, and bank accounts at least one-third. This would be equivalent to debasing the coinage, and repudiation to the extent of thirty-three per cent. The fact is so, and it is no abuse to state it. Behind this stalks the ancient and hideous spectre of fiat money.

Clearly the free coinage of silver would not increase the value of the metal in market. The silver miners themselves, if they could escape from the obscurations of the lingo of the devotees and the demagogues of silver and the speculators in its variations, would comprehend that free coinage or the silver standard would yield no profit to them. Swapping silver with themselves could not enrich them any more than swapping pocket-knives enriched the boys. The conditions of the silver question demand radical and decisive action by the Government. There ought to be free coinage of silver, but not at the present ratio. The ratio surely is no sacred thing. It has been often changed, and there never was so great a demand for change as now. Of course it would be well if the required change could be made through a common understanding among the nations.

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We shall never have that, however, while our silver agitators give to the European money centres the hope that they can exchange European silver for American gold. They will come to our terms in dealing with silver when they know it is our fixed, unassailable policy to keep the gold standard.

With our productions of gold and silver, iron and copper, cotton, corn, wheat, and oil, we have but to find out our strength, and issue our commands, to be obeyed. We are in possession of the potentialities. We have but to know ourselves to sit at the head of the table of the nations and execute our will.

In his dying words Secretary Windom told us if we adopted the free-coinage policy the greyhounds of the Atlantic would bear to our shores the surplus silver of Europe, and gold would be drawn in exchange for it. Our Government has been encouraging the production of silver by the purchase of sixty-three tons of it per month, and we are holding a vast store of silver bullion. Senator Stewart wants it coined. But we have seven times as much coined silver as the people care to handle. Why go on working the mints?

The bullion is more convenient than the coin for public purposes, and there is sevenfold more coin than is wanted for private transactions. This bullion is a weapon, and we should strike with it boldly. There is needed, that we may put a handle to it, an amendment of the Sherman–Jones silver law. Congress should authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to sell the bullion we have in store, and to ship the whole mass of it to the London market and draw the gold for it. That is the way to bring about an international silver conference. It is the aggressive way of defending ourselves. We are the great producers of silver. Instead of inviting it from Europe, let us send there for sale our superfluous accumulation. Let the greyhounds of the ocean be employed in transporting our silver product to Europe and bringing back the gold. We have been buying silver: why not sell it? That is the change of policy wanted to fetch the conference that we have so long and mistakenly and vainly solicited. The conference should have but one object—that of the readjustment of the ratio between silver and gold, so that the relation might be according to the market price. Perhaps 18 to 1 would be about right, but the matter should be studied carefully.

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Let the conference find the correct figures. Then we should have free coinage of gold and silver on the same terms. Indeed, it would follow as a matter of course. There would be no strain, for the ratio of the market could not cause friction. There would be no preference then in money metals, save as to the convenience of handling or as to taste for the beautiful. If other nations do not come to terms we should fix a ratio for ourselves and have free coinage. Others would be constrained to go with us and so establish our leadership. As for the trouble of recoining the silver, mechanical facilities are great, and it could be rapidly and might be tastefully done. It should be done, anyhow, for the improvement of the coin, in the artistic sense, and to correspond to the conditions of change. Gold should be reminted also, the double eagles converted into five-dollar pieces ; and so we would and should assert, and achieve—maintain the parity of the two precious metals, and make sure forever an abundant supply of sound, hard, ringing, lustrous money.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

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PREHISTORIC TIMES IN EGYPT AND PALESTINE.

BY SIR J. WILLIAM DAWSON.

I.

IT MAY be as well to confess at the outset that the subject of this paper is one which ordinary readers regard with suspicion. It raises many hard questions, is beset with difficulties and controversies, and trenches on the domain of those biblical and historical critics and archæologists whose work is apt to repel alike by its difficulty and uncertainty. I believe, however, that by a judicious mixture of geology, archæology, and history, sacred and secular, it may be possible to arrive at some certainty as to leading points. The greatest difficulty, perhaps, is in the choice of materials; for when we recall the huge mass of literature with which the subject has been illuminated or darkened, from the great folios of Bochart down to the very modern labors of Delitzch, Maspero, Lenormant, Sayce, Wilson, Naville, Petrie, Conder, Tomkins, Pinches, Schrader, and a host of others, along with the large amount of geological, archæological, and topographical work added within recent years, the prospect is somewhat appalling. Still, by piling the whole together, we may hope with our modern "kodak" and magnesium flash to produce a little cabinet picture, which, if somewhat shaded in parts, may bring out the salient features of the oldest conditions of these old lands. I should, however, scarcely have ventured to attempt such a sketch but for the opportunity to apply personally the test of geological investigation to some of the crucial points, and thus to secure some elements of certainty, and for the further reason that I have just finished the revision, for a second edition, of a work in which these observations are recorded.*

*"Modern Science in Bible Lands," London, 1888 and 1891.

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The term prehistoric was first used by my friend Sir Daniel Wilson in his "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland." It was intended to express "the whole period disclosed to us by archæological evidence as distinguished from what is known by written records." As Wilson himself reminds us, the term has no definite chronological significance, since historic records, properly so called, extend back in different places to very different times. With reference, for example, to the Chaldean and Hebrew peoples, if we take their written records as history, this extends back to the Deluge at least. Written history in Egypt reaches to 3,000 years before Christ, while in Britain it extends no farther than to the landing of Julius Cæsar, and in America to the first voyage of Columbus. In Palestine we possess written records back to the time of Abraham, but these relate mainly to the Hebrew people. Of the populations which preceded the Abrahamic immigration, those "Canaanites who were already in the land," we can scarcely be said to have history before the Exodus. In Egypt we have very early records of the dwellers on the Nile, but of the Arabian and African peoples whom they called Pun and Kesh, and the Asiatic peoples whom they knew as Cheta and Hyksos, we have till lately known little more than their names and the representations of them on Egyptian monuments. In both countries there may be unsounded depths of unwritten history before the first Egyptian dynasty, and before the Abrahamic clan crossed the Jordan.

What then in Egypt and Palestine may be regarded as prehistoric? I would answer: (1) The geographical and other conditions of these countries immediately before the advent of man. (2) The evidence which they afford of the existence, habits, and history of man in periods altogether antecedent to any written history, except such notes as we have in the Bible and elsewhere as to the so-called antediluvian world. (3) The facts gleaned by archæological evidence as to tribes known to us by no records of their own, but only by occasional notices in the history or monuments of other peoples. In Egypt and Palestine such peoples as the Hyksos, the Anakim, the Amalekites, the Hittites, and Amorites are of this kind, though contemporary with historic peoples.

Prehistoric annals may thus, in these countries, embrace a wide scope, and may introduce us to unexpected facts and questions respecting primitive humanity. I propose in the present paper to direct attention to some points which may be regarded

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as definitely ascertained in so far as archæological evidence can give any certainty, though I cannot pretend in so limited a space to enter into details as to their evidence.

Before proceeding, I may refer by way of illustration to another instance brought into very prominent relief by the publication of Schuchardt's work on "Schliemann's Excavations."

We all know how shadowy and unreal to our youthful minds were the Homeric stories of the heroic age of Greece, and our faith and certainty were not increased when we read in the works of learned German critics that the Homeric poems were composite productions of an age much later than that to which they were supposed to belong, and that their events were rather myths than history. How completely has all this been changed by the discoveries of Schliemann and his followers. Now we can stand on the very threshold over which Priam and Hector walked. We can see the jewels that may have adorned Helen or Andromache. We can see and handle the very double cap of Nestor, and can recognize the inlaid work of the shield of Achilles, and can walk in the halls of Agamemnon. Thus the old Homeric heroes become real men as those of our time, and we can understand their political and commercial relations with other old peoples before quite as shadowy. Recent discoveries in Egypt take us still further back. We now find that the "Hanebu," who invaded Egypt in the days of the Hebrew patriarchs, were prehistoric Greeks, already civilized, and probably possessing letters ages before the date of the Trojan War. So it is with the Bible history, when we see the contemporary pictures of the Egyptian slaves toiling at their bricks, or when we stand in the presence of the mummy of Rameses II. and know that we look on the face of the Pharaoh who enslaved the Hebrews and from whose presence Moses fled.

Such discoveries give reality to history, and similar discoveries are daily carrying us back to old events, and to nations of whom there was no history whatever, and are making them like our daily friends and companions. A notable case is that of the children of Cheth, known to us only incidentally by a few members of the nation who came in contact with the early Hebrews. Suddenly we found that these people were the great and formidable Kheta or Khatti, who contended on equal terms with the Egyptians and Assyrians for the empire of Western Asia; and when we be-

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gan to look for their remains, there appeared, one after another, stone monuments, seals and engraved objects, recording their form and their greatness, till the tables have quite been turned, and there is danger that we may attach too much importance to their agency in times of which we have scarcely any written history. Thus, just as the quarry and the mine reveal to us the fossil remains of animals and plants great in their time, but long since passed away, so do the spade and pick of the excavator constantly turn up for us the bones and the works of a fossil and prehistoric humanity.

Egypt may be said to have no prehistoric period, and our task with it will be limited to showing that its written history scarcely goes back as far as many Egyptologists suppose and confidently affirm, and that beyond this it has as yet afforded nothing. Egypt, in short, old though it seems, is really a new country. When its priests, according to Plato, taunted Solon with the newness of the Greeks and referred to the old western empire of Atlantis, they were probably trading on traditions of antediluvian times, which had no more relation to the actual history of the Egyptian people than to that of the Greeks.

The limestones and sandstones which bound the Nile Valley, sometimes rising in precipitous cliffs from the bank of the stream, sometimes receding for many miles beyond the edge of the green alluvial plain, are rocks formed in cretaceous and early tertiary times under the sea, when all Northern Africa and Western Asia were beneath the ocean. When raised from the sea-bed to form land, they were variously bent and fractured, and the Nile Valley occupies a rift or fault, which, lying between the hard ridges of the Arabian hills on the east and the more gentle elevations of the Nubian desert on the west, afforded an outlet for the waters of interior Africa and for the great floods which in the rainy season pour down from the mountains of Abyssinia.

This outlet has been available and has been in process of erosion by running water from a period long anterior to the advent of man, and with this early prehuman history belonging to the Miocene and Pliocene periods of geology we have no need to meddle, except to state that it was closed by a great subsidence, that of the Pleistocene or glacial period, when the land of North Africa and Western Asia was depressed several hundred feet, when Africa was separated from Asia, when the Nile Valley was

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an arm of the sea, and when seashells were deposited on the rising grounds of Lower Egypt at a height of two hundred feet or more.* Such raised beaches are found not only in the Nile Valley but on the shores of the Red Sea, and, as we shall see, along the coast of Palestine; but, so far as known, no remains of man have been found in connection with them. This great depression must, however, geologically speaking, have been not much earlier than the advent of man, since in many parts of the world we find human remains in deposits of the next succeeding era.

This next period, that known to geologists as the Post-Glacial or early modern, was characterized by an entire change of physical conditions. The continents of the northern hemisphere were higher and wider than now. Great Britain was a part of the continent of Europe, the European land probably reaching out into the Atlantic to the 100-fathom line. The Mediterranean was divided into two basins, and a broad fringe of low land, now submerged, lay around its eastern end. This was the age of those early Palæolithic or Palæocosmic men whose remains are found in the caverns and gravels of Europe and Asia. What was the condition of Egypt at this time? The Nile must have been flowing in its valley; but there was probably a waterfall or cataract at Silsilis in Upper Egypt, and rapids lower down, and the alluvial plain was much less extensive than now and forest-clad, while the river seems to have been unable to reach the Mediterranean and to have turned abruptly eastward, discharging into a lake where the Isthmus of Suez now is, and probably running thence into the Red Sea, so that at this time the waters of the Nile approached very near to those of the Jordan, a fact which accounts for that similarity of their modern fauna which has been remarked by so many naturalists. I have myself collected in the deposits of this old lake near Ismailia fresh-water shells of kinds now living in the Upper Nile. If at this time men visited the Nile Valley, they must have been only a few bold hunters in search of game, and having their permanent homes on the Mediterranean plains now submerged.

If they left any remains we should find these in caverns or

* Hull, "Geology of Palestine and adjacent Districts," Palestine Exploration Fund. Dawson, "Modern Science in Bible Lands," p. 311 and Appendix. References will be found in these works to the labors of Fraas, Schweinfurth and others.

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rock shelters, or in the old gravels belonging to this period which here and there project through the alluvial plain. At one of these places, Jebel Assart near Thebes, General Pitt Rivers has satisfied himself of the occurrence of flint chips which may have been of human workmanship; * but after a day's collecting at the spot, I failed to convince myself that the numerous flint flakes in the gravel were other than accidental fragments. If they really are flint knives they are older than the period we are now considering, and must be much older than the first dynasty of the Egyptian historic kings. † These gravels were indeed, in early Egyptian times, so consolidated that tombs were excavated in them. Independently of this case, I know of no trustworthy evidence of the residence of the earliest men in Egypt. Yet we know that at this time rude hunting tribes had spread themselves over Western Asia, and over Europe as far as the Atlantic, and were slaying the mammoth, the hairy rhinoceros, the wild horse, and other animals now extinct. They were the so-called "Palæolithic" or historically antediluvian men, belonging, like the animals they hunted, to extinct races, quite dissimilar physically from the historical Egyptians. I see, however, that in a recent review of Miss Edwards's charming work, "Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers," she is taken to task by an eminent Egyptologist for statements similar to the above. On the evidence of two additional finds of flint implements *on the surface*, he affirms the existence of man in Egypt at a time when "the Arabian deserts were covered with verdure and intersected by numerous streams," that is, geologically speaking, in the early Pleistocene or Pliocene period, or even in the Miocene!

Singularly enough, therefore, Egypt is to the prehistoric annalist not an old country—less old indeed than France and England, in both of which we find evidence of the residence of the Palæolithic cave men of the mammoth age. Thus, when we go beyond local history into the prehistoric past, our judgment as to the relative age of countries may be strangely reversed.

It is true that in Egypt, as in most other countries, flint flakes, or other worked flints, are common on the surface and in the superficial soil; but there is no good evidence that they did not

* "Journal of Archæological Society," 1881. Haynes' "Journal of the American Academy of Sciences."

† Dawson, "Egypt and Syria," p. 149.

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belong to historic times. A vivid light has been thrown on this point by Petrie's discovery in débris attributed to the age of the twelfth dynasty, or approximately that of the Hebrew patriarchs, of a wooden sickle of the ordinary shape, but armed with flint flakes serrated at their edges,* though the handle is beautifully curved in such a manner as to give a better and more convenient hold than with those now in use. This primitive implement presents to us the Egyptian farmer of that age reaping his fields of wheat and barley with implements similar to those of the Palæolithic men. No doubt at the same time he used a harrow armed with rude flints, and may have used flint flakes for cutting wood or for pointing his arrows. Yet he was a member of a civilized and highly-organized nation, which could execute great works of canalization and embankment, and could construct tombs and temples that have not since been surpassed. Can we doubt that the common people in Palestine and other neighboring countries were equally in the flint age, or be surprised that, somewhat later, Joshua used flint knives to circumcise the Israelites ?†

In accordance with all this, when we examine the tenants of the oldest Egyptian tombs, who are known to us by their sculptured statues and their carved and painted portraits, we find them to be the same with the Egyptians of historic times, and not very dissimilar from the modern Copts, and we also find that their arts and civilization were not very unlike those of comparatively late date.

There are, however, some points in which the early condition of even historic Egypt was different from the present or from anything recorded in written history.

I have elsewhere endeavored, with the aid of my friend Dr. Schweinfurth, to restore the appearance of the Nile Valley when first visited by man in the post-diluvial period. It was then probably densely wooded with forests similar to those in the modern Soudan, and must have swarmed with animal life in the air, on the land, and in the water, including many formidable and dangerous beasts. On the other hand, to a people derived from the Euphratean plains and accustomed to irrigation, it must have seemed a very Garden of the Lord in its fertility and resources.

There is good reason to credit the Egyptian traditions that the

* Kahem and Garoh, Egyptian Exploration Fund publications.
† Joshua, V., 2, marginal reading.

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first colonists crossed over from the Red Sea and settled in the neighborhood of Abydos, and that they made their way thence to the northward, at a time when the Delta was yet a mere swamp,* and when they had slowly to extend their cultivation in Lower Egypt by diking and canals. If we ask when the first immigrants arrived, we are met by the most extravagantly varied estimates, derived mainly from attempts to deduce a chronology from the dynastic lists of Egyptian kings. That these are very uncertain, and in part duplicated, is now generally understood, but still there is a tendency to ask for a time far exceeding that for which we have any good warrant in authentic history elsewhere. Herodotus estimated the time necessary for the deposition of the mud of the Delta at 20,000 years; but if we assume that this deposit has been formed since the land approximately attained to its present level, allowing for some subsidence in the Delta in consequence of the weight of sediment, and estimating the average rate of deposition at one-fifteenth of an inch per annum, which is as low an amount as can probably be assumed, we shall have numbers ranging from 5,300 to about 7,000 years for the lapse of time since the Delta was a bay of the Mediterranean.

It is true that the recent borings in the Delta, under the officers of the British Engineers, have shown a great depth in some places without reaching the original bottom of the old bay. Some geologists have accordingly inferred from this a much greater age for the deposit than that above stated,* and in this they are in one respect justified; but they have to bear in mind that only the upper part of the material belongs to the modern period. A vast thickness is due to the Pleistocene and Pliocene ages when the Nile was cutting out its valley and depositing the excavated material in the sea at its mouth. A careful examination of the borings proves by their composition that this is actually the case.† Geologists who have been guided by these facts in their estimates of time have been taunted as affirming that a great diluvial catastrophe occurred while quiet government and civilized life were going on in Egypt. The evidence for this early date of Egyptian colonization of the Nile Valley is, as every one knows,

* "Herodotus," Book II., Ch. 15.

† Judd, "Report to Royal Society," 1885.

‡ "Modern Science in Bible Lands," where evidence of similar dates in other countries is stated.

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doubtful, and it might be retorted that archæologists represent the Egyptian government as dating from a period when the Nile Valley was an inland district, and when the centres of human population must have been, principally at least, on lands now submerged.

As an example of the fanciful way in which this subject is sometimes treated, I may cite the fabulous antiquity attributed to the great sphinx of Gizeh. We are told that it is the most ancient monument in Egypt, antedating the pyramids, and belonging to the time of the mystic "Horshesu," or people of Horus, of Egyptian tradition. In one sense this is true, since the sphinx is merely an undisturbed mass of the Eocene limestone of the plateau. But its form must have been given to it after the surrounding limestone was quarried away by the builders of the pyramids, and consequently long after the founding of Memphis by the first Egyptian King Mena. The sphinx is, in short, a block of stone left by the quarrymen, and probably shaped by them as an appropriate monument to the workmen who died while the neighboring pyramids were being built. A similar monument of immensely greater antiquity, from a geological point of view, exists near Montreal in a huge bowlder of Laurentian gneiss, placed on a pedestal by the workmen employed on the Victoria Bridge, in memory of immigrants who died of ship fever in the years when the bridge was being built.

It follows from all this that the monumental history of Egypt, extending to about 3,000 years before Christ, gives us the whole story of the country, unless some chance memorial of a population belonging to the post-glacial age should in future be found. There are, however, things in Egypt which illustrate prehistoric times in other countries, and some of these have lately thrown a new and strange light on the early history of Palestine and especially on the Bible history.

One of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty whose historical position was probably between the time of Joseph and that of Moses, Amunoph III., is believed to have married an Asiatic wife, and under her influence he and his successor, Amunoph IV. or Khu-en-Aten, seem to have swerved from the old polytheism of Egypt and introduced a new worship, that of Aten, a God visibly represented by the disk of the sun, and therefore in some sense identical with Ra, the chief god of Egypt; but there was something in this new worship offensive to the priests of Ra.

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Perhaps it was regarded as a Semitic or Asiatic innovation, or led to the introduction of unpopular Semitic priests and officers. Amunoph IV. consequently abandoned the royal residence at Thebes, and established a new capital at a place now called Tel-el-Amarna, almost at the boundary of Upper and Lower Egypt, and from this place he ruled not only Egypt but a vast region in Western Asia which had been subjected to the Egyptian government in the reign of the third Amunoph. From these subject districts, extending from the frontiers of Egypt to Asia Minor on the north, and to the Euphrates on the east, came great numbers of despatches to the Pharaoh, and these were written not on papyrus or skin, but on tablets of clay hardened by baking, and the writing was not that of Egypt, but the arrow-head script of Chaldea, which seems at this time to have been the current writing throughout Western Asia.*

The scribes of the Egyptian king read these documents, answered them as directed by their master, docketed them and laid them up for reference; and, strange to say, a few years ago Arabs digging in the old mounds brought them to light, and we have before us, translated into English, a great number of letters written from cities of Palestine and its vicinity about a hundred years before the Exodus, and giving us word-pictures of the politics and conflicts of the Canaanites and Hittites and other peoples long before Joshua came in contact with them. Among other things in this correspondence we find remarkable confirmation of the sacred and political influence of Jerusalem, which the Bible presents to us in the widely separated stories of Melchisedec, King of Salem, in the time of Abraham, and of the suzerainty of Adonizedec, King of Jerusalem, in the time of Joshua.

At the time in question Jerusalem was ruled by a king or chief, subject to Egypt, but, as in the times of Abraham and Joshua, exercising some headship over neighboring cities. He complains of certain hostile peoples called *chabiri*, a name supposed by Zimmei† to be equivalent to Ibrim or Hebrews, which to some may seem strange, as the Israelites were at this time in

* It is possible, however, that it may really have been a language of diplomacy merely, and may have been used by the Semitic agents of Amunoph as a cipher to communicate with the Egyptian court, and which could not be read by messengers or enemies acquainted only with Hittite or Egyptian hieroglyphics or with the Phœnician characters. For a similar case see II. Kings, xviii., 26.

† Inaugural Lecture, Halle, 1891.

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Egypt. We must bear in mind, however, that according to the Bible the Israelites were not the only "children of Eber." The Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Ishmaelites, and Midianites were equally entitled to this name; and we know, from the second chapter of Deuteronomy, that these were warlike and intrusive peoples, who had, before the Exodus, dispossessed several native tribes, so that we do not wonder at the fact that the King of Jerusalem was suffering from their aggressions. It may be noted incidentally here, that this wide application of the term Hebrew accords with the one of the name *Aperiu* for Semitic peoples other than Israelites in Egypt.

We have here also a note on an obscure passage in the life of Moses, namely, his apparent want of acquaintance with the name Jehovah until revealed to him at Horeb.* Now, as reported in Exodus, Moses in that interview addressed God as "Adon," which is supposed to be the Hebrew equivalent of "Aten," the meaning being Lord. This is a curious incidental agreement with the prevalence of the Aten worship in Egypt, and shows that this name may have been currently used by the Israelites, whose God Moses himself calls Adon, till commanded to use the name Jehovah.

A second point of contact of Egypt and Palestine is in the painting and sculptures of hostile and conquered nations in Egyptian temples and tombs. These were evidently intended to be portraits, and an admirable series of them has been published by Mr. Petrie under a commission from the British Association for the Advancement of Science. By means of these excellent photographs, now before me, we can see for ourselves the physiognomy, and form of head, of the Amorite, Philistine, Hittite, and many other peoples previously known to us only by name and a few historical facts; and thus with their correspondence, as preserved in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and their pictures as given by Petrie, we have them before us much as we have the speeches and portraits of our contemporaries in the illustrated newspapers, and can venture to express some opinion as to their ethnic affinities and appearance, and can judge more accurately as to the familiar statements of the Bible respecting them. Lastly, Maspero and Tomkins have,

* Exodus III., 16 et seqq. This passage has been often misunderstood, but it certainly shows that the name Jehovah had become nearly obsolete among the Hebrews in Egypt, and that the name usually given to God was Adon or Aten.

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with the aid of the names fixed by the survey of Western Palestina, revised the lists given by Thothmes III., in the temple of Karnak, of the places which this Egyptian Alexander had conquered; and they have thus verified the Hebrew geography of the books of Joshua and Judges.

Another unexpected acquisition is the solution of the mystery which has enshrouded that mysterious people known as Hyksos or Shepherd kings, who invaded Egypt about the time of the Hebrew patriarchs, and, after keeping the Egyptians in subjection for centuries, were finally expelled by the predecessors of the Amunoph already referred to. They constitute a great feature in early Egyptian history, but disappear mysteriously, leaving no trace but a few sculptured heads, Turanian in aspect and markedly contrasting with those of the native Egyptians. It now appears that a people of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, known to the Egyptians at a later time as Mitanni, and who were neighbors of and associated with the Northern Hittites, have the features of the Hyksos. It also seems from a letter in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets that they spoke a non-Semitic or Turanian language akin to that of the Hittites. Thus we have traced the Shepherd kings to their origin, and, curiously enough, Cushan-rish-athaim, who oppressed the Israelites in the days of Othniel, seems to represent a later inroad of the same people.

Such "restitutions of decayed intelligence" now meet us on every hand as the results of modern exploration; and we must reserve for a second article some additional examples, as well as some further consideration of their bearing on biblical history.

J. William Dawson.

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THE NEW YORK CLEARING HOUSE.

BY WILLIAM A. CAMP, MANAGER OF THE NEW YORK CLEARING HOUSE.

ABOUT the year 1773 the bankers of London began a system of exchanging their checks and securities at one place, for the purpose of reducing the amount of real money necessary in the settlement of the transactions represented by them.

The clearing-house method thus introduced met with a great opposition from many of the large bankers in that city, which was gradually overcome: the present system was introduced, and is now practically the same in its methods as that of over one hundred years ago. Little is now known of the amount of its operations, nor are authentic records to be found, as indeed they do not exist.

It was not until after the organization of the New York Clearing House, which instituted the custom of keeping a complete record of its transactions (reported daily) and also a weekly report to the public of the average condition of each bank member of the Association (an arrangement that proved most desirable to the general public and the business community), that a similar system, although considerably abbreviated, was adopted and is continued to the present day in London.

It is a matter of surprise to many that London's average daily transactions (with the exception of one or two years) have been less than those of New York, but that is accounted for, in the opinion of the writer, by the different methods of business.

The certified check system in use here, and the general use of checks for payments in all kinds of settlement, large or small, largely increases the aggregate of clearings and constitutes an element of safety.

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The percentage of actual money used by the banks of this city is very small, while in London the Bank of England notes are the principal medium.

Previous to October 11, 1853 (the date of the organization of the New York Clearing House Association), the banks doing business in the city of New York were subject to great risk, inconvenience, and loss of time in effecting their settlements with one another under the methods then prevailing.

Each bank was obliged to keep a ledger account with every other bank, involving a large number of entries daily, the settlements between them being made by cashiers' drafts every Friday; while the distance between some of them was also a serious difficulty.

As the number of banks and the amount of their business increased, it became apparent to all that some plan or system should be devised which would remedy the evil, and avert not only the delay but the risk involved in daily transactions. After much study by leading spirits among the bank officers the present clearing-house system was adopted, and put into operation as an experiment, with the result of marked success, and it has since proved so valuable as to be recognized as a necessity.

When organized, its object was simply (as the constitution states) "to be the effecting at one place of the daily exchanges between the several associated banks, and the payment at the same place and day of the balances resulting from such exchanges." But it was destined to develop into a tower of strength in times of financial distress, and a source of mutual protection to its members at all times.

Even the most sanguine and enthusiastic of its projectors could not foresee how soon the crucial test of its usefulness was to be applied, nor how well it would bear the strain. Within a very few years after its conception and formation it even became a powerful factor in the financial administration of the Government. Upon the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861, the banks of New York, by combination and equalization of their resources, were enabled, through the facilities afforded by the Clearing House, to unite in advancing to the United States Government $150,000,000, which at once restored its declining credit and enabled it to equip and arm its newly-formed military forces and provide for its other immediate requirements. Independently

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of the great advantages such a system affords the banks in their dealings with each other, experience has proved it to be, in times of emergency, a power for the suppression and avoidance of financial panics, unequalled in the history of this country or in that of the world, as instanced notably in 1873, 1886, and 1890, and on several other occasions.

It was asserted by a prominent bank president, at a meeting of the Association, during the panic of 1884, that the influence of the New York Clearing House in this country was greater than that of the Bank of England in Great Britain, and those experienced in its history accord with that opinion. That the methods employed are perfect is evidenced by the rapidity with which its enormous transactions are performed and the absolute correctness of its results. Hence, it has become proverbial that the Clearing House is in its results always correct; for while of course it can, and does, make errors, they are, through its perfect system, always discovered in time to prevent delay or loss.

Every bank, not later than half-past ten o'clock each morning, can know its exact condition for the day, and consequently regulate its business accordingly. The balances resulting from the morning exchanges are settled daily, at half past one o'clock, in specie or legal tender notes, thus completing the settlement of each bank for the day.

The records and statistics of the office are voluminous and complete, and any information pertaining to its business or transactions, for the past thirty-eight years, can be obtained from these records by any bank entitled to such information.

A committee of five, selected from our ablest and most experienced bank officers, compose what is styled the Clearing House Committee, who are empowered by the Association, in case of necessity, to take prompt action in any or all matters affecting its interests.

The average daily Clearing House exchanges per year, for the past ten years, have been $115,218,234.79; the highest daily average for any one year during that period, being in 1881, amounted to $159,232,190.86. The annexed table, showing the yearly transactions, forcibly illustrates the effects upon the business of the country of the expansion and contraction of the currency and the effects of panics and speculations.

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TABLE.

THE EXCHANGES, BALANCES, WITH AVERAGE DAILY EXCHANGES AND BALANCES OF THE ASSOCIATED BANKS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK FROM 1854 TO 1891.

Year ending Sept. 30.	No. of Banks.	Exchanges. Amnt. brought to C. H.	Balances. Paid in money.	Average daily exchange.	Average daily balances.
1854	50	$5,750,455,987.06	$297,411,493.69	$19,104,504.94	$988,078.06
1855	48	5,362,912,098.38	289,694,137.14	17,412,052.27	940,565.38
1856	50	6,906,213,328.47	334,714,489.33	22,278,107.51	1,079,724.16
1857	50	8,333,226,718.06	365,313,901.69	26,968,371.26	1,182,245.64
1858	46	4,756,664,386.09	314,238,910.60	15,393,735.88	1,016,954.40
1859	47	6,448,005,956.01	363,984,682.56	20,867,333.19	1,177,943.96
1860	50	7,231,143,056.69	380,693,438.37	23,401,757.47	1,232,017.60
1861	50	5,915,742,758.05	353,383,944.41	19,269,520.38	1,151,087.77
1862	50	6,871,443,591.20	415,530,331.46	22,237,681.53	1,344,758.35
1863	50	14,867,597,848.60	677,626,482.61	48,428,657.49	2,207,252.39
1864	49	24,097,196,655.92	885,719,204.93	77,984,455.20	2,866,405.19
1865	55	26,032,384,341.89	1,035,765,107.68	84,796,040.20	3,373,827.71
1866	58	28,717,146,914.09	1,066,135,106.35	93,541,195.16	3,472,752.79
1867	58	28,675,159,472.20	1,144,963,451.15	93,101,167.11	3,717,413.80
1868	59	28,484,288,636.92	1,125,155,236.68	92,182,163.87	3,642,249.95
1869	59	37,407,028,986.55	1,120,318,307.87	121,451,392.81	3,637,397.10
1870	61	27,804,539,405.75	1,036,484,821.79	90,274,478.59	3,365,210.46
1871	62	29,300,986,682.21	1,209,721,029.47	95,133,073.64	3,927,665.68
1872	61	33,844,369,568.39	1,428,582,707.53	109,884,316.78	4,638,255.54
1873	59	35,461,052,825.70	1,474,508,024.95	115,885,793.58	4,818,653.67
1874	59	22,855,927,636.26	1,286,753,176.12	74,692,573.97	4,205,075.73
1875	59	25,061,237,902.09	1,408,608,776.68	81,899,470.26	4,603,296.65
1876	59	21,597,274,247.04	1,295,042,028.82	70,349,427.51	4,218,377.94
1877	58	23,289,243,701.09	1,373,996,301.68	76,358,176.06	4,504,905.90
1878	57	22,508,438,441.75	1,307,843,857.24	73,785,746.54	4,273,999.53
1879	59	25,178,770,690.50	1,400,111,062.86	82,015,539.70	4,560,622.35
1880	57	37,182,128,621.09	1,516,538,631.29	121,510,224.25	4,956,008.60
1881	60	48,565,818,212.31	1,776,018,161.58	159,232,190.86	5,823,010.36
1882	61	46,552,846,161.34	1,595,000,245.27	151,637,935.38	5,195,440.54
1883	63	40,293,165,257.65	1,568,983,196.15	132,543,306.76	5,161,128.93
1884	61	34,092,037,337.78	1,524,930,993.93	111,048,981.55	4,967,201.93
1885	64	25,250,791,439.90	1,295,355,251.89	82,789,480.38	4,247,069.39
1886	64	33,374,682,216.48	1,519,565,385.22	109,067,588.94	4,965,899.95
1887	64	34,872,848,785.90	1,569,626,324.77	114,337,209.13	5,146,315.82
1888	64	30,863,686,609.21	1,570,198,527.78	101,192,415.11	5,148,191.89
1889	64	34,796,465,528.87	1,757,637,473.47	114,839,820.23	5,800,783.74
1890	65	37,660,686,571.76	1,753,040,145.23	123,074,139.12	5,728,889.36
1891	64	34,053,698,770.04	1,584,635,499.88	111,651,471.39	5,195,526.21

Total Exchanges since organization, October 11, 1853.....	$950,317,307,349.29
" Balances since organization, October 11, 1853.....	42,424,129,850.12
" Transactions for 38 years.....	992,741,437,199.41

The Clearing House, when organized in October, 1853, included every bank in the city, in all at that time fifty-two.

The conservative requirements of the system soon revealed weakness in the management of eight banks and these were obliged to liquidate in consequence of their inability to meet the immediate demand upon them for their daily settlements; a demonstration that their methods of business were unsound, and consequently unsafe. The result was, as shown in the table, a reduction of the total business of the Clearing House for the second year, but this gradually increased until the panic of 1857 caused a reduction in the following year of nearly fifty per cent. in the aggre-

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gate transactions, the volume of which was about restored the following year.

The excitement over the Presidential election of 1860 again caused a large falling off in the amount of business. The passage by Congress of the National Currency Act the year after immediately expanding the circulation, increased the volume of business in proportion to the issue of National Bank currency until 1873, when the financial panic of that year (the result of overtrading, especially in railroad enterprises) again showed its effects in an enormous reduction of business, from which it did not recover until the resumption of specie payments by the United States Government on the 1st of January, 1879, which increased the business from $22,500,000,000 in 1878 to $48,565,000,000 in 1881.

The effect of the failure of two or three banks in 1884 from bad or criminal management, notably the Metropolitan and the Marine National, also seriously reduced the amount of transactions through the Clearing House; but a rapid recovery of the financial condition of the banks, by prompt action of the Association, demonstrated its wisdom and the power of concerted action. Surely, never was the truth of the motto that "In union there is strength" more aptly illustrated than in the history of this great financial brotherhood.

Its strength lies principally in the plan known as the Loan Committee system, devised originally by able men, members of the Association, and improved upon from time to time by experience, until now it seems, when put into operation, a power so strong as to at once by the restoration of confidence avert the disaster of a financial panic. This plan consists in the issuance to banks requiring them of certificates of the Loan Committee (who are selected for their judgment and experience), based upon stocks, bonds, or bills receivable approved by the committee, with a margin of not less than 25 per cent., and the bank's obligation in addition. These certificates, bearing interest, and having the guarantee of the Association, and available for the settlement of balances at the Clearing House, make a perfectly safe as well as profitable security for the members of the Association, at the same time removing pressure upon such banks as need only temporary relief, by converting their collateral and bills receivable into an equivalent to a cash asset.

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They have invariably accomplished the object of their issue, and in a brief period have always been retired and cancelled without loss. It is only when banks are actually solvent that such relief is extended. This was instanced in November, 1890, when three banks suddenly found themselves unable to meet promptly, as required by the Association, their Clearing-House balances. They were assisted by individual banks to the extent required for that day; their condition was then examined by the committee, and two of them being found perfectly solvent were afforded the aid requisite for a continuance of business; but the condition of the other, the North River Bank, not being satisfactory, further assistance was refused it, whereby the public was assured that if a solvent bank should suffer temporary stringency it would be aided and protected by the Association, while only scant courtesy could be expected for one whose methods and condition should be proved upon examination to be unsound.

To demonstrate how effective is the safeguard which this system affords as a means of mutual protection it is only necessary to call attention to an attempt recently made upon the securities and resources of a certain bank in good standing and credit by a party of unscrupulous bank-wreckers. Every business man in New York must remember with what marvellous celerity their schemes were brought to an abrupt termination and they themselves summoned before the bar of justice. So long as they were contented to devote their attention to outside banks their plans prospered, but almost the very day they presumed to trifle with a bank connected with the Clearing House Association their plans were frustrated.

Before any of the conspirators were aware that they were even suspected, the committee was sitting in special session and probing their actions to the bottom. The conservatism of the New York Clearing House is especially manifested in the fact that, while most of the clearing houses in the United States resort to transfers of balances in their settlements, this Association has never, except in the matter of loan certificates, accepted any other medium than legitimate gold coin or legal tender money.

This brief description of an institution whose operations and influences are only thoroughly understood or appreciated by those familiar with banking and finance may convey to the uninitiated some idea of its value and importance as associated with

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the banking interests of this city and of the whole country, to the proper administration of which it has become almost indispensable.

Great credit is due, as is justly recognized by the members of the Association, to those bank officers who have so ably served from time to time upon the loan committees, and also upon the Clearing House committees, for the performance of their arduous and responsible duties without compensation of any kind, and purely from a devotion to the interests of the Association, which was necessarily for the public good. The value of their labors is beyond estimate; panics have been averted by their judgment and prompt action; an enormous depreciation in values of all kinds prevented to an amount which cannot be calculated; and many banks which are now prosperous have been saved from failure or liquidation.

WILLIAM A. CAMP.

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THE PERILS OF REËLECTING PRESIDENTS.

BY THE HON. DORMAN B. EATON, EX-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES CIVIL-SERVICE COMMISSION.

A PRESIDENT with no strong party or personal interest in the election of his successor can approach it with calm fidelity to his great trust. If he be more a partisan than a patriot, he will use his vast powers more for his party than his country. If the candidate of the President's party be the President's favorite, the public interests are quite sure to suffer. Make the President himself the candidate of his party for the succession, and the two most powerful of all human motives—that of personal selfishness and that of party zeal and hate—are combined against fidelity to the public interests. Only the most saintly of men and the noblest of patriots, when thus contemplating their own reëlection, can have the sense of duty needed for controlling the selection and conduct of more than a hundred thousand officers—subordinate to the President—in the interest of the public rather than in that of their own reëlection. In theory, nothing seems wiser than to make a second Presidential term dependent upon the people's judgment of the first. In practice, nothing is more dangerous than to make the hope of such a term a temptation to Presidents to fill all these places with electioneering politicians in aid of such reëlections.

When political parties combine the great forces of a nation for the election of worthy candidates or the support of a wise policy, they are as salutary as they are powerful. But when a party uses its powers for coercing appointments to parts of the public service in which no party principles are involved, and especially when such powers are united with those of the President for compelling the vast numbers in the civil service to become electioneerers for a

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second term for a President, then, surely, the party has transcended its sphere, has prostituted its functions, and has become a source both of demoralization and of peril.

Though no political party existed when the national constitution was framed, yet its authors, fearing evil from such party passions as have caused this prostitution, provided for presidential electors, to be selected in each State separately, who, by an independent vote, were to elect the President. It is a familiar fact that this system of electors has failed—has been made almost useless—by the influence of great parties. It is the one great failure of our constitutional system. Yet so completely have party theories dominated political thought, so blinding have the passions of party become, that rarely can we find a proper comprehension of the disastrous consequences of this failure, or of the changes it makes necessary in order to accomplish the purposes of the constitution in regard to the presidential office. Every suggestion of a remedy is likely, in the minds of perhaps the vast majority, to raise only these questions : How will it benfit my party ? Can it be made to injure the other party ? But this intrusion of party, where the interests of the country alone should be considered, makes the need of a remedy only the more manifest and imperative.

In the subordinate offices, the length of the official term and the matter of reëligibility are not, intrinsically, of prime importance. But when we come to the President, at the centre and summit of all official life, at the head of a great host of officers and employees of many kinds and grades, civil, naval, and military, whose services extend to every part of the Union and to foreign seas and nations, whose numbers exceed a hundred and fifty thousand, and most of whom, directly or indirectly, hold their places at the pleasure of the President,—that President having, besides his vast executive powers, a legislative power equal to one-sixth of that of Congress for making and repealing laws,—then, indeed, we have an office the fixing of the term of which and the filling of which not only involve this vast official force and the counterpoise of the constitution itself, but raise the most vital issues of party strife and national safety.

So important is the mere length of the President's term of office that to increase it fourfold,—to sixteen years,—we may well believe, would make executive power too great and corrupting for

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Congress or the courts to withstand; and that to reduce it to a fourth of its length, requiring Presidential elections annually, would soon make the people sigh for an aristocracy or an emperor.

The framers of our constitution carefully considered the fit length of the President's term and all the bearings of his eligibility for reëlection, so far as history or their experience afforded any light. But there had never been anywhere in the world such an office as that of our President, nor a country in which a political party could freely elect the chief executive. When the constitution was framed, there was no political party, nor for a long time after was there any like the parties of our time. After national parties had arisen, they were for a long time based on principle, and did not rely on patronage—that is, on subordinate offices—for gaining power or rewarding party henchmen. For a long time Presidents were nominated in congressional caucuses. There were hardly more than a hundred removals for party reasons from 1789 until Jackson's administration.

The elaborate organization, the stupendous power, the greed for office, of our parties, like their control of presidential and other elections, were unimagined by our early statesmen. They were acquainted only with little local parties or rather "factions" —as they fitly called them—based on the interests of slavery, of large or small States, of Northern or Southern States, of manufacturing or agricultural States; and these factions were almost without organization. A national party convention, a presidential election, the electioneering activity of more than a hundred thousand official subordinates of a President for his reëlection, the awarding of tens of thousands of places as prizes to the victors, potentially, by a President thus elected,—these workings of our political system were as much beyond the imagination of its authors as some of them are repugnant to the constitution itself and to the purposes of its creation.

Yet there was great fear of an increase of such factions, of the spirit of party, of the intrigue and corruption which presidential elections might involve. The system of presidential electors, as we shall soon see, was the trusted precaution of those statesmen, and their remedy against such evils.

The sessions of the Constitutional Convention began in May and continued until the middle of September. The questions of the reëligibility of the President and of the fit length of his term

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—in their nature dependent—were always considered together; and first early in June. It was then decided that his term should be seven years, and that he should not be eligible for reëlection; only one State favoring reëligibility. The system of presidential electors had not then been devised. The questions of term and reëligibility were again discussed about the middle of July, when there were extreme opinions, ranging from a term of less than seven years to one of good behavior. Six States against four expressed a preference for reëligibility, provided a satisfactory mode of electing the President could be devised. Still, however, the opinion was unanimous that, if he was to be selected by Congress, he ought not to be eligible for reëlection. An important argument against reëligibility was the danger that, Congress being a continuous body, its members would be bargained with and corrupted,—an argument which, in the main, applies to great national parties also, because they are permanent, with a continuous series of officers ready to make corrupt bargains. The debate shows that there was no anticipation of such party supremacy and evils from partisan removals and office-seeking as our times have seen.

Those who favored reëligibility were to devise some new and safe scheme for electing the President. The scheme devised was the election by each State of a number of electors equal to her Senators and Representatives counted together; and the body of electors thus secured was to elect the President, whereupon their official existence was to cease. In this matter each State was expected to act freely and independently. No Senator, Representative, or person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States could be an elector. Each presidential elector was expected to cast his vote for President according to his judgment. The thought that these electors would become a servile agency of party, taking no independent action of their own, so that the party election would determine absolutely who should be President, seems to have occurred to no one; a striking evidence that the despotic power of our parties was then inconceivable. Hamilton and Madison, Franklin and Washington, were unable to imagine that state of public opinion—rather, of party despotism—which, a few years ago, censured the alleged purpose of James Russell Lowell to cast his vote, as a presidential elector, irrespective of party and according to his conscience; the very

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thing which they intended, which the constitution provided for, and which the reëligibility of the President required.

Mr. Bancroft tells us that the convention was so converted by this electoral device that, on the faith of it, the reëligibility of the President was approved in July, and his term was reduced from seven years to six. Nevertheless, at the end of the month the convention again voted that the President's term should be seven years, and that he should be ineligible for reëlection. The subject was further debated in August, and it was referred to a committee from all the States, from which came a report, in September, limiting the term to four years. The subject had become complicated with questions between large States and small States; and in the meantime theoretical confidence in the electoral scheme had greatly increased. A term of four years was finally adopted for the President, and he was left eligible for reëlection.

Thus we see that not only the original conviction of the convention, but its deliberate vote at the end of thorough discussion, was for a single term of six or seven years, without eligibility for reëlection; and that a four years' term—a sudden suggestion—and the allowance of reëligibility were first approved near the end of the session; after the convention, to use Mr. Bancroft's words, had fallen into "an anarchy of opinion," and had come to trust the saving virtues of a device which has utterly failed.

It is an instructive fact that Brazil, the latest republic to imitate our constitution, recognizing that failure, has reaffirmed the most careful judgment of our convention, by giving her President a term of six years and forbidding his reëlection.

The Federalist defends what was done on the basis of the assumed sufficiency of the electoral scheme. It declares it to have been "a desideratum that the executive should be independent, for his continuance in office, of all but the people themselves"; and so he would have been had presidential electors remained independent. But when party became supreme, they became servile. Public officers became an efficient force for reëlecting a President—almost a controlling force for his renomination. A President seeking a reëlection found as much reason, perhaps, to consider them as to consider the people.

The electoral system began to break down when party, led by Jefferson, began to be excessive; and that experienced party leader—as the first President Harrison tells us in a message in

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which he condemns a second term—lamented the mistake made in allowing a President an opportunity for grasping a second term through prostitution of his subordinates. Jackson first made party an irresistible power; and, knowing well both presidential frailty and party passions, he comprehended the dangerous consequences of that opportunity. If one of the fiercest of partisans, he was yet honest, fearless, and patriotic. In his first message he advised that the President be made ineligible, and that his term be six years—the best advice Jackson ever gave his party. Twice afterwards, in messages, and with deeper earnestness as he saw the dangers increasing, he repeated this advice, and urged a constitutional amendment to make it effective. But the interests of his party, its officials and leaders, in existing methods had become irresistible. The mighty influence of Jackson was as inadequate as that of Jefferson to arrest the growing evil.

When a constitutional amendment allowing only one term to a President was pending in 1829, Buchanan opposed it with the characteristic servility to party which enabled that lamentable politician, thirty years later, to be effective for the degradation of his country. The partisan admirers of Jefferson and Jackson have never risen to the level of their principles or their patriotic courage. Shouting for these patriots, they are blind to the evils those men deplored. The virtue of any party must be rare indeed which will waive its advantage in having tens of thousands of its adherents in office at the opening of a presidential canvass. Reform can only come at the hands of a new party, or must not take effect until some years after its adoption.

From Jackson's time it was regarded as infidelity to party to repeat his advice. Polk required a pledge from the members of his cabinet not to use their position to affect the Presidency—of course against himself. He wanted no rivals. Mr. Curtis has recorded Buchanan's declaration that he found Pierce and his cabinet intent upon building up, through his appointments, a Pierce party for his own reëlection. There had been a revolution in presidential elections. The party interests in controlling them through the aid of the office-holders seem to have overawed as well as debauched Presidents. Tyler, who began with deprecating the vicious influence of office-holders on elections, ended by accepting a nomination for a second term from a convention promoted by himself, and mainly composed of officials depending on his favor.

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Fillmore, a more kindly President, was opposed to a second term, but, yielding to the solicitation of friends, mainly his subordinates in office, he stood for reëlection.

Politicians who have worked rather for the President and the party than for the country deny him any right to refuse them the chances of extending their official life by renewing his. A party which has made a politician a President claims a right to his services, and to those of the vast army of officials he commands, for carrying the next election. The first President Harrison's profound sense of the evils of a second-term candidacy would probably have prevented his accepting a renomination, had he not died too soon.

Aside from Mr. Harrison, Mr. Cleveland is the only President since 1837, when the spoils system had become supreme, who has officially repeated the warnings of Jefferson and Jackson. In his letter accepting his first nomination, Mr. Cleveland used these words:

> "When we consider the allurements of power, the temptation to retain places, and, more than all, the availability the party finds in an incumbent and a horde of office-holders, . . . we recognize, in the eligibility of the President for reëlection, a most serious danger."

Clay, Webster, and Sumner expressed a deep sense of the dangers of a President's seeking a second term; and De Tocqueville, two generations ago, declared, in substance, that the practice puts the government itself into the scales against every candidate, except that one who alone commands the vast army of its officials. As the reform sentiment has gained strength, there has been more courage to oppose second terms. The labor-reform platform of 1872, and that of the Liberal Republicans of the same year, condemned them; and so did President Hayes. Mr. Tilden expressed "the conviction that no reform of the civil service . . . will be complete and permanent 'until' the President is constitutionally disqualified for reëlection."

We have space for only the most meagre treatment of other parts of the subject. The reëligibility which the constitution allows is not for a second term only, but for an indefinite series of terms. The plausible argument which was then and is now, with a class of reasoners, its principle support, is this: that well-doing in the presidential office should be rewarded with reëlections, and that such a practice would inspire noble endeavors. This argu-

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ment, which has some real strength, as well as great plausibility, applies with increased force to a President who has done well for two terms. Yet an unwritten law of practical wisdom, sweeping high over all constitutional and theoretical reasons, early forbade any man to be more than twice elected President. And if no term longer than four years shall be provided, we may perhaps in our day see an amendment of this law which shall forbid a single reëlection of a President. Is it certain that even now the party cry, "No reëlection of Presidents and a six years' term," would not be effective?

A nation's gratitude to its favorite general in our day did not save him from defeat and humiliation when party interests and the greed of office-holders—for we can assume no controlling ambition on the part of President Grant—forced him into conflict with this salutary custom. Thus fell the greater part of presidential reëligibility and of the arguments in its favor.

To the extent that the hope of a reëlection does or can elevate the action of a President, that hope must, therefore, be utterly lost during his second term; and this term, to that same extent, should in character be inferior to the first—a very distinct argument against a reëlection. The fact is that the hope of a reëlection is, in its very nature, a motive and an elevating force—if such at all—far inferior to a patriotic spirit, a sense of duty, or a recognized commitment to great principles before the people. The most unscrupulously ambitious of Presidents will most vigorously seek a second term. A man of noble nature, indeed, desires to be honored in the future; but knows that not seldom he can be, only at the cost of popularity in the present.

The most difficult step in gaining a second term is that of securing a renomination; in which the public servants and the mercenary politicians are but too sure to be the most effective force. This is the great reason against renominations. When a President is a candidate,—and thus under a powerful temptation to coerce his subordinates, to pander to party leaders, to cause vast sums of money to be extorted from the public servants for election expenses,—these vicious elements will be far more powerful than when all candidates stand on a common level—no one having an army of office-holders at his bidding.

To make a President a candidate for reëlection is to set him upon the conflicting purposes of serving, at the same time,

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his country, his party, and, above all, himself. From the moment he is thought to aim at a second term, his motives, especially in connection with all appointments and removals, are generally—if not justly—distrusted. His great office sinks in public estimation. Suspicion embitters party hate. Plausible distrust and misrepresentation fill the whole realm of politics, and rapidly enfeeble confidence in the President and respect for his motives. This in itself is a great misfortune; for next to the evil of a corrupt use of the appointing power is a belief that it is so used. How many can be convinced that a President seeking a reëlection will not, in selecting postmasters, collectors, and all other officers, prefer an efficient electioneerer to a quiet, competent public servant? A President may have that ideal sense of duty and that almost superhuman patriotism which are unaffected when the selfish exercise of his power can give him 65,000 postmasters—150,000 employees altogether in the Post-Office Department alone—who may become servile agents in his behalf in every city, village, and hamlet of the Union, but who, if that power is exercised patriotically, will attend only to their official duties. The experience of the last decade, in which more than once within the space of two years, or less, tens of thousands of postmasters, whose politics under good administrations are unimportant, have been removed to gain places for active partisans, compels us to think that such virtues are not common. Well-regulated post-offices should have (as English post-offices do have) no more politics than the Adams Express Company, a regiment of the army, or a ship of war. The great carriers of packages could transport and deliver the mails, as telegraph companies deliver messages, without the least embarrassment from the lack of politics, whatever peculiar objections might prevail against their so doing.

It is doubtless possible for the vast numbers in the public service appointed for party reasons—as anxious as a President to continue in office, and well knowing how highly he would appreciate an electioneering prostitution of their influence in his behalf—to nevertheless continue faithful to their duties, doing nothing to aggravate that excessive partisan activity which every patriot deplores; but most people may think that few things contribute so much to these evils as a President standing for a second election.

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We are sometimes told that the people are the best judges of the fittest person to be President, and that to restrict their choice by declaring any one ineligible is to distrust their judgment and to contradict our republican theory. The constitution of the United States defines republican government for us, and mainly for the world. It condemns and excludes such reasoning. Though there should be a citizen preëminent in fitness for the presidential office, and from every quarter of the Union and every class of the people a preference for him should be declared, nevertheless he could not be elected President if (1) not thirty-five years of age; or (2) not for fourteen years a resident within the United States; or (3) not a native-born citizen—not having been a citizen when the constitution was adopted; nor (4) can the electors of any State vote for two persons for President and Vice-President both of whom are inhabitants of the same State as themselves. Thus the people have no absolute right of choice.

Many of the reasons affecting the proper length of a President's term are too profound to be considered here. Yet we may glance at some of them. The framers of our constitution comprehended the need of a term of considerable length to give steadiness to policy, and experience, vigor, and consistency to administration. The need of a longer term increases with the vastness of territory, the numbers of the people, the complexity of affairs. Since parties have become the ruling forces, the only chance for doing justice to the policy of a party which has triumphed by electing a President is to allow him a term long enough to fairly test that policy in practice. This also the public interest requires.

It is mere usurpation and despotism for a party or a President to use the subordinate officers to keep itself or himself in power. These officers have a right to that reasonable independence to which such party despotism is fatal. It is one of the best features of the party system that a President is placed conspicuously before the people as under a moral obligation to be true to the principles approved in his election. The whole theory of party rule, and every element of justice involved in it, require that each party shall enter the presidential election on equal terms,—save as made unequal by different principles and candidates,—and forbid either party to have the advantage of a horde of public servants at its bidding. No one may hope to

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secure ideal equality. Yet a single term for a President, long enough to fairly test a policy,—say a term of six years,—would seem to be most fit. It would not too much restrain the freedom of the people or the chances of a new experiment in policy. It can hardly be claimed that through a six years' term political life would lose more than some part of its excessive activity. This period of service is midway between the shortest ever proposed and the longest ever tolerated for our Presidents. The average length of service for each person elected as President,—before the one in office,—had no death prevented, would have been five years and eight months.

May we not well believe that nearly all persons, save the politicians and venal voters, think our presidential elections are too frequent? Who would think such elections once in two years endurable? If we now had a presidential term of six years, who, except party managers, office-seekers, the buyers and sellers of votes, and the storm-birds of partisan politics, would wish to see the quadrennial term restored? Indeed, are we not justified in believing that, if the members of the convention of 1787—the leaders of a generation which saw no removals for party ends and no interference by officials with elections—could return here and be their own revisers, in the light of our experience, they would provide for a presidential term of six or seven years,—a term which they twice approved, and never abandoned until their confidence had been won by a device of presidential electors, the failure of which would be their great disappointment in contemplating their glorious creation?

Some patriot may suggest that a term of six years would have shortened the administration of Washington. But the great principles he represented were established during the first six years of his Presidency. And may we not believe that he would have advised a single term of six or seven years, had he lived to see the failure of the electoral system, as Jefferson and Jackson lived to see it, and so advised?

Some Republican may tell us that a single term of six years would have prevented the reëlection of Lincoln; but such a term would have been long enough for the work of reconstruction; and it might, perhaps, have prevented the excitement incident to his reëlection, which possibly developed the partisan hate of his assassin into a murderous frenzy. Many Democrats will

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doubtless suggest that such a provision would prevent the renomination of Mr. Cleveland. But it would have added two years to his administration, by which his policy and that of his party would have been adequately tested. Besides, we have cited his words which condemn a second term and answer the suggestion. In fact, all mere personal arguments, applying as they do with force only twice or thrice in a century, are shallow and inconclusive when weighed against the constant and powerful temptation and tendency to selfishness and corruption which the reëlection of Presidents involves. What all worthy and noble Presidents most desire—what an Aristides, a Marcus Aurelius, or a Washington, in the presidential office, would most seek—would be freedom to appoint and remove all officers and to discharge every function under conditions which, to the utmost, exclude every reason for suspicion and all justification for imputing selfish motives,—conditions as favorable to the general welfare as they are to the honor and glory of Presidents.

Such a President would feel that six years of such opportunity, at the head of a mighty nation, in which to lead a wise policy, to be faithful to great principles, to freely exercise his judgment in reference to the highest interests of his country, alike in the present and in the future, with no personal interests in the future but that it should gratefully preserve the record of his official life,—such a President would feel that an opportunity like this is enough to satisfy the noblest ambition; and that to fill the measure of its duties would require him to be governed by the highest motives and to fitly discharge the most exalted functions of human life.

If a President holding office on such conditions should not have independence and patriotism enough to reappoint a worthy postmaster because he was worthy, he would at least be without a selfish interest to tempt him from his duty. If it would be possible, under such a single-term system, for the worthy head of the greatest customs office of the Union to be forced from his place when an election was near at hand, without being so much as charged with a fault, the President would at least be without the strongest of temptations to appoint the most expert of politicians and the least experienced of administrators as his successor. He might, perhaps, upon plain business principles—as has been

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the practice in England—promote to the vacancy some customs officer of adequate experience,—apparently a plain duty. Let it be certain that a President can serve but one term, and he will feel far more independent for doing his duty.

Justice to patriotic and unselfish Presidents requires that they be relieved of the tormenting solicitation and effrontery with which they are assailed, and their energies overtaxed, in filling offices as they are now filled. The question under existing practice, "Who will make the most efficient officer for the President's reëlection and for the party?" it may be safely said, is generally quite as much considered as the simple inquiry as to fitness for official duties, and is more harassing near a presidential election. Who can picture the all-pervading demoralization which comes from this source, the disgust and humiliation inexpressible with which a truly worthy President is compelled, in regard to thousands of offices every year, to consider all the vicious interests and rivalries of local and partisan politics—to say nothing of those affecting his own renomination, as to which the party hardly allows him freedom? They revolted even the stern nature of Andrew Jackson. A report by a committee of the national Senate in May, 1882, declares that "every chief magistrate, since the evil has grown to its present proportions, has cried out for deliverance."

It has been one of the evil effects of the second-term system to cause the interested appointees of a President to insist that his honor needs to be vindicated by a renomination—as if what they can do for him could give him a more honorable fame than what he has done for the people!

No well-informed person will assume that the denial of second terms would remove all the evils with which they are connected; for of some of them they are not the cause, but only the aggravation. But such a denial would certainly prevent the very methods of filling the presidential office from being a needless temptation of presidential virtue.

If appeals to reason alone shall fail to bring about the needed changes, the practical impossibility of much longer carrying on the government in the spirit of partisan removals and second-term nominations may perhaps force the making of them. In the lifetime of persons now living we shall have 500,000 postmasters, and it will require the removal of more than 375 every day for the Presi-

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dent's whole term of four years—to say nothing of, perhaps, two million post-office clerks, carriers, and employees, or of as many more officers and employees of divers kinds—in order to fill all the places in the postal service with those partisans and expert manipulators of elections who, scattered through every city, village, town, and hamlet of the Union, constitute the vast horde of electioneerers most effective for the reëlection of Presidents. Happily, so many appointments and removals would be a physical impossibility. Happily, in politics, as elsewhere, the disastrous results of evil ways may reënforce the lessons of reason and the promptings of patriotism.

DORMAN B. EATON.

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THE FUTURE OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

BY THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON FARRAR.

I NEED hardly apologize for writing, as the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW requests me to do, on the subject of the future of Westminster Abbey. Americans are at least as fully alive as Englishmen to the unique interest and preciousness of our national Walhalla. Almost the first thing that an American does, on visiting England, is to make his pilgrimage to the Abbey; but there are many Englishmen, even in London, who have never entered it. I was once baptizing the child of a nobleman in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and one of the godfathers was another nobleman, who had just succeeded to a marquisate, and had been, for nearly fifty years, a member of the House of Commons. He had spent a great part of his life under the shadow of the Abbey, and was a man of ability and culture—yet he told me that, during that half century, he had scarcely once so much as entered the building, and knew nothing about it!

Down to the days of the Declaration of Independence the Abbey and its history is as much the inheritance of Americans as of Englishmen. Many of the graves and monuments in it—such as those of Earl Howe, and Sir Peter Warren, and Major André, and Sir J. Burgoyne, are almost more interesting to them than to Englishmen. It contains, in the window given by Mr. G. W. Childs to the memory of the two sacred poets, George Herbert and William Cowper, the *only* free gift, other than a bust or statue, that has been bestowed upon it in living memory. The bust of Longfellow, occupying so prominent a place in the south transept, is a beautiful sign that the two great nations, which are in truth but one nation, regard the literature of each as a common heritage; and though I have no right to speak in any name but my own, I, for one, should heartily rejoice, if it were possible

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to have memorials also for such reformers as William Lloyd Garrison, such rulers as Washington, General Grant, and Abraham Lincoln, and such writers as Nathaniel Hawthorne and James Russell Lowell. Twice within the last six years we have had funeral services to commemorate the deaths of two of those eminent Americans whom I have mentioned, General Grant and Mr. Lowell; and I esteem it no small honor that, on both occasions, the privilege of delivering the funeral discourse was mine.

I have said that, "*if it were possible*," England would rejoice to place in her great and sacred mausoleum the monuments of the most famous Americans. But it is no longer possible, or can only be so, at the utmost, for a few years more. This fact renders it necessary to raise the question as to "the *future* of Westminster Abbey." The question has just occupied the attention of a Royal Commission, of which I shall speak further on.

The present state of things is this: If there be but one burial every year, the use of the Abbey as a place of *interment* for the illustrious dead might last for a century longer. But in that case any *monument* will be out of the question. The Abbey is already desperately overcrowded with tombs and cenotaphs. In the last century an enormous space was allotted to not a few whose reputations have proved to be only ephemeral, and to some who were, even in their own day, unknown to fame. At the present moment there is room for only two statues more; and it is not difficult to name the two world-famous Englishmen—the great poet and the great statesman—for whom those two last places would be unanimously reserved. But even for the much humbler memorial of a bust, or a tablet, there is scarcely an inch of space. On November 2 the bust of Matthew Arnold was unveiled, and it is placed in the dark baptistery, where it is scarcely observed. I doubt whether the utmost ingenuity of the Dean and Chapter could find any space at all—even the most inappropriate and out of sight—for a dozen more busts of great men.

And already the want of space has led to unfortunate results. Mr. Gilbert's beautiful monument to Henry Fawcett in the baptistery is but half discernible in the darkness; and the busts of Lords Lansdowne and Lord Russell have, of necessity, been thrust into obscure and unnoticed corners. The character of monumental records has thus been distinctly deteriorated.

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"*To-morrow, victory or Westminster Abbey,*" said Nelson, on the eve of the battle of the Nile. But long before Nelson, in the days of the Commonwealth, Clarendon tells us that the body of the great Admiral Blake was brought all the way from Plymouth and, "with all solemnity possible, interred in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, among the monuments of the kings," because Cromwell wished "to *encourage his officers to venture their lives.*"

It would be idle to maintain that the prospect of such a posthumous honor is a matter of indifference to noble-hearted men. The Athenian felt that it was no small reward to a hero if they painted his portrait in the Pœcile; and though, as Pericles said, "of illustrious men, the whole earth is a tomb," yet illustrious men, and those who love and follow them, have felt that there is a strong incentive in the desire to earn the memorial of national gratitude. "*Well then, Westminster Abbey let it be!*" said the dying Grattan, not without satisfaction. A Roman writer esteemed it the highest honor if he could look forward to the day when his bust should have a place in the Palatine Library founded by Augustus. George Eliot knew that she could hardly, as yet, have a tablet in the Abbey, but she did not shrink from showing by a sigh her regret.

Every man and woman who rises but an inch or two above that dead level of mediocrity, "in which every molehill is a mountain and every thistle a forest tree," has much to endure in life from the stupidity, the calumnies, the envy, and the misrepresentations of contemporaries. Browning, in answer to one of those misguided persons who had sent him an abusive article on his books, with the simple question, "*Is this poetry?*" replied, that "he had too much experience that the human goose cackles when it is pleased, and hisses when it is malignant, ever to lift heel against what waddles behind it." But it is some consolation even to the greatest of the dead to hope that, when Death hath silenced "the chatter of irresponsible frivolity"—the sounds which, as someone has said, are the emptiest, and which therefore Echo loves—"those unknown voices which bellow in the shade, and swell the language of falsehood and of hate"—then the national gratitude of all who judge just judgment will accord them such recognition as they have honorably won.

Hitherto the memorials of the greater number of our most famous dead have been gathered in one great shrine for all men to

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see. The dust of kings and rulers has mingled with the dust of men born in the humblest ranks of life and ennobled by genius alone. Poets, some of whom in life lacked bread, have here at least found a stone;* and philanthropists, whose lives were endangered by the fury of banded interests and appetites, find that there is posthumous honor for those who have striven to undo the heavy burden and let the oppressed go free. Thus the Abbey furnishes a multitude of lessons. There is scarcely a single point at which it does not touch the great interests of English history. The kings of France, as Dean Stanley loved to point out, lie almost alone at St. Denis, and the popes of Rome at St. Peter's; the kings of Spain lie alone at the Escorial; the emperors of Austria at Vienna; the czars of Russia at Moscow and St. Petersburg; but at Westminster, the humblest, who were great by goodness, repose in death by the side of their sovereigns. Again there are churches like SS. Giovannie Paolo at Venice, and Santa Maria Novella at Florence, which contain the memorials of some of the famous dead. But there is no other building in the whole world where the visitor can trace the traditions, or study the records, or stand over the mortal remains of men who represent nearly all that is greatest in the national story of nearly nine centuries. Under one roof lie not only

"The painful warrior, famoused for fight,"

but also the statesmen, the teachers, the divines, the orators, the musicians, the actors, the novelists, the explorers, the discoverers, the men of science, and the sweet singers—often sculptured as they stood in life with their garlands and singing robes about them. Of painters, we have only one—Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Crowded sources of interest make a visit to Westminster Abbey memorable to multitudes, of very different gifts. The student of Catholicism rightly recognizes in its minutest details a subtle and profound symbolism, intended to impress upon the soul the great doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation and the Atonement. The great architect sees in its exquisite proportions an epic poem in stone. For the man of poetic sensibility,

"Bubbles burst, and folly's raging foam
Melts, if he cross the threshold."

* On the tomb of Samuel Butler, author of "Hudibras," the elder Wesley wrote:

"See him when starved to death and turned to dust
Rewarded with a monumental bust;
The poet's fate is here in semblance shown,
He asked for bread, and he received—a stone!"

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The sculptor sees in it the most extensive and wonderful of all schools of statuary, showing every phase of varying influence which affected the plastic arts from their beginning. The herald may study in it the rise, the decline, and the obliteration of the art of emblazonment. The student of religious development reads in the changing forms of the tombs the thoughts respecting life and death which prevailed in the ages of faith, of reform, of insincerity and compromise. The man of letters feels himself nearer to his most eminent predecessors as he recalls a hundred anecdotes which connect the story of their lives with this or that spot in the venerable building. The historian finds inspiration for great themes in its endless suggestiveness. To the archæologist it is a storehouse of authentic records illustrative of customs and costumes long obsolete. Even the man who is profoundly ignorant, and has no tincture of any science, must be less than human if he does not feel its awe-inspiring impressiveness. And yet nearly all these manifold interests are beside and subsidiary to the main purpose of the Church—as a place of great and solemn assemblages and functions; as a place where, in the rendering of the masterpieces of sacred music, we may hear

> "the pealing organ blow
> To the full-voiced choir below,
> In music high and anthems clear,
> As may with sweetness through mine ear
> Dissolve me into ecstasies
> And bring all heaven before mine eyes;"

as a place, above all, where, day by day and year by year, through the long centuries, with sincere and loving devotion, though with very diverse opinions, men have listened to God's word, and uplifted their hearts in humble prayer.

The question, then, has arisen, in the minds of those who love their country, Whether this precious possession shall—so far as its most unique men are concerned—belong wholly to the past, and, by a sudden and grievous discontinuity, the memorials of the present and the future be severed from it?—or whether it shall be so extended as still to concentrate within its sacred precincts the grandest associations of England's fame? Can any man, other than some worldly cynic, give any but one answer?

When Cyrus wanted to tame the pride of the great river Gyndes he diverted the current into a multitude of channels. Will

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England gain if the memorials of her history are henceforth scattered in a multitude of different churches and cemeteries? If this would involve a national loss, can it be averted? This was practically the question which had to be considered by the "Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the present want of space for monuments in Westminster Abbey," of which the first report, presented to both houses of Parliament by command of the Queen, in 1890, lies before me.

The Commissioners were unfortunately only six in number. The result was an even vote for two different proposals. The Commissioners were the Right Honorable D. Plunket, Sir Henry Layard, Sir F. Leighton, Dean Bradley, Mr. Jennings, M. P., and Mr. Waterhouse, the President of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

Much interesting evidence was elicited in their report. That some extension of, or addition to, the Abbey was needed, all were agreed. All were also agreed as to the desirability of pulling down the houses in Old Palace Yard. These houses are not only unsightly and obtrusive, but they threaten the Abbey with chances of destruction by fire. A much larger scheme of clearance was approved by the Embankment Commission in 1863. A clear view of the ancient buildings would thus be thrown open in the midst of a street, which, if the embankment were completed, would be the most magnificent in London, and perhaps in the world.

Many plans have been suggested, some of which I will mention: The scheme proposed in 1863 by Sir Gilbert Scott and approved (it is said) by the Prince Consort, was to sweep away a large number of houses and build a large cloister. To this scheme there would be the double objection of (1) enormous costliness, and (2) the remoteness of the new memorials from the Abbey Church, which, as it were, lends to them their consecration.

It has been suggested:

1. To utilize the immense Triforium, by removing thither some of the unsuitable and unsightly monuments. Access to the Triforium might be given by a spiral staircase. This plan would, at the best, be a makeshift. It has met with no favor. It would make of the Triforium, as Sir F. Leighton says, a *salon des refusés*.

2. To utilize the green strip of land which runs along St. Margaret's churchyard, by building a chapel and cloister.* This

* Suggested by Mr. Pearson, R. A.

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is practically impossible. Public opinion would not permit the partial concealment of the present north side of the Abbey.

3. To utilize the site of the large ancient refectory of the monks, which runs along the side of the south cloister, and is now included in the garden of Ashburnham House. The house and garden had been, from time immemorial, in the possession of the Abbey, but were taken from it in 1881, in accordance with a clause introduced into an Act of Parliament with very little discussion in 1868. I shall always think that this was a high-handed and unwarranted procedure; but the mischief is done, and as there is very little chance that it will now be undone, this scheme of rebuilding the old refectory as a mortuary chapel is not likely to be carried out.

4. To utilize the existing cloisters and the garth which they surround. But the garth already contains the mortal relics of generations of Benedictine monks; the cloister walls are so crowded with monuments, that, unless these were removed,—which would be hardly fair,—only a few irregular spaces are left; and under the cloister stones, during six centuries, no fewer than 1,757 persons, at least, have been interred. Apart from the fact that the cloisters are already thronged with memorials, this suggestion was almost universally condemned as inadequate.

5. To build "a wreath of chapels" between the buttresses of the Chapter-House. Such chapels, however, would be comparatively insignificant in themselves, and the public sentiment would never be brought to connect them with the great shrine. Nor would they admit of the solemn and stately services at the burial of great men which are now felt to be intensely impressive.

6. The sixth plan, with various minor modifications, is to build out from the Abbey a splendid memorial chapel, facing the Houses of Parliament, and connected with the Abbey itself by a wide cloister under the buttresses of the Chapter House. This plan was approved by the eminent architect, Mr. Fergusson; and is also approved by the present distinguished architect of the Abbey, Mr. J. L. Pearson. It is identified with the name of the Right Hon. Shaw Lefevre, who, not only as First Commissioner of Works in 1880–1884, but ever since, has shown an enlightened and patriotic interest in this great question. The plan could have been accomplished in the year of the Queen's Jubilee, and would have provided for the English-speaking race, not only a

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splendid monument of the long reign of Queen Victoria, but also a resource which would have lasted for centuries. First and last, indeed, involving, as it does, the purchase of sites and the demolition of houses, it would have cost at least £150,000. During the rejoicings of the Jubilee year this sum could have been raised by subscription with the aid of a government grant. It has the Queen's approval and sympathy, but Her Majesty "did not wish it to interfere with the scheme for the erection of an Imperial Institute, to which her consent had already been given as the principal monument of her Jubilee." Nothing, therefore, has yet been attempted in this direction,—but in spite of the dissent of three of the Commissioners, it may safely be prognosticated that this scheme alone will be regarded as possible, desirable, and adequate.

It remains to be seen whether the enthusiasm for England and her history is sufficient to stimulate the requisite energy and munificence. If not, if the memorials of the dead are henceforth scattered in various churches, and Westminster Abbey, so long the pride and glory of England, loses its splendid continuity of associations—I cannot but think that the omen will be disastrous. When, in the great church of San Paolo Fuori le Mura, at Rome, it was found that, after Pio Nono, there would be no room for the likeness of another Pope, the incident was thought to foreshadow an eclipse of Papal power. It would be not only an omen but a disaster, if, for lack of generosity, of public spirit, or of sense of our national duty to the past and the future, Westminster Abbey should cease to maintain its ancient influence. It would prove that we were degenerate sons of the fathers who have not only bequeathed to us the example of so many noble deeds, but who also enshrined the memory of those who wrought them in a church meant to be like the temple of Solomon, "exceeding magnifical, of fame, and of glory throughout all countries."

May the influence and public opinion of America help to convince England of the necessity for taking early steps to build, in closest connection with the Abbey, some grand memorial chapel which shall enable generations yet unborn to pay worthy honor to the famous dead, alike of the old home and of the Western world!

F. W. FARRAR.

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WHAT I EXPECT TO DO IN AFRICA.

BY PROF. R. L. GARNER.

THE prime purpose of my visit to the wilds of West Africa is to study the speech and habits of those great anthropoid apes which inhabit the jungle of that low, marshy country lying under the equator, some three hundred miles north of the mouth of the Congo River. In order to do this, it is necessary for one to take up his abode in the deep forest, that he may become familiar with the domestic life and conditions of those man-like creatures and study them in a state of nature untouched by the influences of captivity or changed conditions.

To make sure of certain results, I shall call to my aid all the engines of human invention which may conduce to my success, and my outfit will embrace a phonograph, a photo-camera, telephones, electric battery, etc., the uses of which are quite evident; but the peculiar manner of applying them will be of interest to all. The most important feature of my outfit, however, is a cage which I have designed for the trip, and without which the use of some of my implements would be impossible. The cage is made of steel wire woven into a diamond-shaped lattice, with a two-inch mesh, and framed in strong steel frames. Each panel of the cage is three feet six inches square, and there are in all twenty-four panels, each one interchangeable with all the rest, so that they can be united with ease into a cube of seven feet square, and any side will serve for top or bottom, and any panel can be used as a door.

The uses of my cage will be very numerous. It can be erected as easily as a tent, and will be used at night to camp in. It will serve me as a house while I may be detained in making terms with the natives or studying their speech; and it will be a fortress in the jungle, where I must spend much of my time in try-

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ing to find the secret which I seek. But the use of my cage will not be limited to a mere place of safety from the wild beasts that prowl through the forests at night; it will serve also as a depot for my supplies, and thus save me the trouble and expense of having to find a place of safety for them in case of delay or absence. This structure will be locked securely to the adjacent trees by three strong chains attached to a Y-shaped iron bolted through the top of the cage. It will be provided with a canvas top and gum-cloth sides, mounted on rollers like window curtains, and easily managed. It will be provided with a soft rubber mat or carpet, which will serve as an insulator when the cage is charged with electricity, and will also prevent the moisture from rising from the ground beneath the cage, in which I shall have to sleep a great part of the time. It will contain hammock and camp chair. Besides these it will be occupied by my phonograph, photographic instruments, telephones, and electric battery with which to operate them. A single charge of this electric battery will last for about 300 consecutive hours. By the use of a small switchboard I shall be able to fire my flash light at night, or to snap my kodak in the daytime, and to operate my telephones if necessary. In case of danger or unexpected attack, by the use of my switchboard and by means of an induction coil, I can charge the entire cage with electricity, developing an alternating current of about 300 volts. In leaving my cage with its contents for any length of time, I shall simply charge it in this manner with electricity, in order that in my absence my meddlesome neighbors may be induced to let it alone.

A unique and marvellous experiment among the many which I expect to be able to perform, is that of phonographing the sounds of the apes at a distance from my cage, where my phonograph will be located at times. I shall accomplish this by means of the telephones which I am having constructed for the purpose with a water-proof cable wire connected at one end with the diaphragm of the phonograph, and at the other end (which may be carried any distance, even a mile or more through the forest) connected with a small telephone concealed in a tin horn; all of which will be painted a dingy green in order that it may be concealed in the leaves or hidden in the moss or undergrowth of the forest. In front of this horn will be placed decoys, baits, effigies, mirrors, or such other means as may be found necessary to induce

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the chimpanzees and gorillas to utter their sounds there, which sounds, of course, will be immediately transmitted to and recorded on the phonograph cylinder, which will be operated by electricity.

I shall be provided with some globes for incandescent light. They will be connected with the battery and placed in such positions that in case of alarm during the night the cause may be easily ascertained by simply switching on the light for a few seconds. If it is found that anything within the field of my kodak shall be worth photographing, the flash light will be fired and the picture taken, including the cage and its surroundings. Amid the deep silence of the forest, I shall take a photograph at night-fall, one at midnight, and one at dawn, thus preserving a vivid idea of the approach of darkness, the appearance of the forest by artificial light in the dead, still hours of night, and the awakening of life in the early dawn, when the first rays of sunlight glance through the foliage wet with tropical dew.

I expect to be able to secure photographic views of the home life of these great apes, as also of the natives of the same regions. I hope to secure photographs of their mouths in the act of talking, and at the same time the phonographic records showing the sounds they utter. With the aid of my phonograph I shall record and bring home the sounds of all the creatures of those deep forests that utter speech; and with my camera shall preserve for civilized man a faithful panorama of the royal families, of the warriors armed with their simple instruments of death, the beaux and belles of royal society in evening dress, the peasantry, slaves and social parasites, the wild beasts, the tropical birds, and even the slimy serpents that infest the Eden of tropical Africa. I shall secure the social and religious songs, the rites and ceremonies, the music and speech of the people. I shall take photographs of their homes, which will afford a vivid idea of the domestic life and habits of this curious people, as they may be found worshipping their deities or dancing in their sins. We may thus ascertain how much bondage and civilization have respectively wrought for this race, by comparing their condition with that of their kinsmen in America, who have grown up under the influences of civilization. This will be an important ethnological fact to determine.

Of course my outfit will include some deadly weapons,—a rifle and a revolver, with 2,000 rounds of ammunition. In addition I shall use a silent and, for certain purposes, far more deadly

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weapon. To fire a gun in the forest would, of course, alarm the animals within a radius of half a mile, and repeated firing would eventually drive them from the locality. I have therefore devised a gun and missile suited to my special use. The gun barrel is simply a straight reed about four feet long, bored out smooth and uniform, and the missile is driven by the force imparted by two strong rubber bands and two steel springs. The weapon is charged with an arrow or dart having a steel head of peculiar design, which is forced open on entering its quarry, the contents of the arrow-head being thereby discharged. This arrow-head will contain fifteen drops of prussic acid. In case I shall see an animal or a group of animals which I may desire to secure, by the use of this instrument I can secure either one or all of them, without unnecessary injury or alarm. The effect of this acid discharged in the blood is almost instantaneous and painless death. The dart, however, may be used to carry other kinds of poison, or used without any; or the gun itself may be used with other missiles.

My masked battery consists of a rubber canteen of my own device, to which is attached a hose about two feet long, on the end of which is a metallic nozzle, provided with a ring to fit the fourth finger, and a valve opening and closing like a flute key. The canteen will be worn buckled under the arm, while the ring on the nozzle will be worn on the fourth finger of the right hand, so that it may be used on the instant in case of surprise. This battery will be charged with concentrated ammonia, a douche of which in close quarters will set the most ferocious beast to thinking. When free from action the valve is shut tight; on closing any part of the hand it opens, and the weight of the arm discharges the pungent contents of the battery. I shall also use this battery in the capture of such small game or insects as I may wish to procure without maiming. Having stifled them with the ammonia, I can administer chloroform, if I wish, so as to extinguish life without giving pain. I shall carry with me also such utensils and chemicals as taxidermists use for preparing skins and skeletons of animals for mounting. As our acquaintance with the *fauna* of this part of the world is so limited, it is quite possible that I may obtain some specimens hitherto unknown. The same may be said of the *flora*.

I shall carry with me the usual camp and medical outfit. My medical case, presented to me by Mrs. M. French Sheldon, whose

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recent journey through East Africa has been the wonder of modern travel, is a duplicate of that used by herself, with some additions made by experienced physicians. My camp equipment will embrace the lightest possible utensils. I shall go alone, with the exception of a cook and body servant, and from time to time twenty-five carriers, all natives. My travels will be necessarily slow, impeded by heavy burdens and long stops at the end of short stages, as the purpose is to study as thoroughly as possible the topography and geography of the country and its native products, as well as the speech of its inhabitants. Encouraged by the success of my experiments with monkeys and other lower animals, I have faith enough in my own ability to believe that I will find a means of communicating intelligently with the anthropoid apes which I am now about to visit. If I succeed in establishing the possibility of this communication, I shall accomplish for science what all the efforts of mankind have failed to do heretofore. If I fail to establish it and instead should prove the negative of the proposition I shall not have deprived science of any part of its acquired knowledge, but shall settle forever the controversy among men on that subject. I do not expect to find in those animals a high type of speech, but only one in keeping with their mental and domestic state and their surroundings, capable of expressing their passions and emotions, and the simple wants incident to such a state of life. Whatever may be the nature or value of their sounds, I shall at least record them on the phonograph and preserve them for science. So strong is my conviction of my ability to learn their language, that I undertake this journey at my own expense, with my life in one hand and my equipment in the other. Impelled by an honest zeal, and attended by the prayers of earnest friends, I shall seek the depths of the unbroken forests, and wrest the secret from those man-like creatures upon the threshold of their own abode.

I am aware of the fact that such a journey is beset with dangers, many of which are unforeseen. Without any desire to be sentimental or romantic, I do assert in candor that I would rather make this journey and succeed and die in poverty, than to forego it and fail, worth the wealth of India. I am not a fanatic upon whom the thought has suddenly dawned, for I have persistently sought for years that one great secret—the first form of speech. My labors in this field have been fairly successful, not-

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withstanding every conceivable disadvantage of working with the lower creatures of the simian type hampered by the surroundings of zoological gardens. If it was possible to accomplish so much with such odds against me, am I not justified in the most exalted hopes for the result of my expedition? And when I return in triumph, which I shall do, those who now deride and ridicule so wild an undertaking, may yet bow their uncovered heads to the truth.

While I have given here some details of my trip as I contemplate it, I must not be held as pledged to adhere to any special mode or means. If the plans I have laid shall fail, new ones will be thought out and put to the test. I feel adequate to the task of meeting these animals on their own grounds, believing that my intelligence will be equal to their brute strength. I am willing to forego the comforts of civilized life, the endearments of home, and the blessings of health and plenty, and take upon myself the hardships, the privations and the toil of such a journey, that I may give to the world the secret with which to pass the gates of speech. I ask no reward but success, I seek no end but truth, and to accomplish this I stake all there is in life.

If the good wishes and benedictions which are daily showered upon me could be realized, my journey through the jungle would be a triumphal march, over a pathway of flowers, but, alas! they cannot change the grim aspect of those solitudes nor banish the ghosts of disease which lurk in the marshes of that torrid coast; but it will lighten the burden and lessen the toil of the march to know that true hearts are measuring my absence, and kind lips are pleading for my safety.

RICHARD L. GARNER.

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A MODERN FORM OF INSANITY.

BY DR. HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, MEDICAL SUPERINTENDENT OF THE RANDALL'S ISLAND HOSPITALS.

A CONSIDERABLE section of the annals of modern crime is devoted to the misdeeds of a class of individuals who in common parlance are termed "cranks." In the courts, the sanity of these persons is often in question. It is commonly assumed that only by hair-splitting refinements of analysis can criminals of this class be brought within the pale of that charity which is everywhere accorded to the unsound mind. Yet the fact is that the great majority of these unfortunates are the victims of a definite disease of the brain and mind. This disease is called Paranoia.

Before studying the development of this disease, let us glance at a few illustrative cases. That of the man Roth, who attempted to shoot Dr. Hall, is typical. His belief, as noted in the daily press, was that he had for years been persistently persecuted by persons of eminence. The agents used were electricity, poison in his food, etc. He believed Dr. Hall and his congregation to be responsible for most of his sufferings. As threatening letters failed to frighten the conspirators, he called attention to the matter in a more emphatic way. He does not doubt that what he did was perfectly right. Another notorious case is that of Dougherty, who shot Dr. Lloyd at the Flatbush Asylum. He believed that a prominent actress loved him, but that she was prevented from seeing him by a league of enemies, who not only thwarted him in his love affair, but persecuted him in every way. The asylum authorities, who had detained him for a time, were in his mind parties to the crime, so he thought himself justified in going back after his escape and shooting Dr. Lloyd.

The following case, which barely escaped notoriety, is of interest. A minister regularly occupying a pulpit had for years devoted his spare hours to researches in philology. At last he came to believe that he had discovered the origin of language,

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and that his secret was known to the Hebrew people, who wished to keep it from the world. He based his belief on imagined cryptograms in the ancient Jewish writings. Later, he discovered similar cross-readings in the daily papers, and, strangely enough, these always made personal reference to himself. He was forced to believe that the foreman of every printing-office in the world was a Hebrew, placed there for the purpose of so juggling the types as to convey messages by a cipher system to all other Hebrews. Some of these messages, being interpreted, directed that he should be killed. He took measures to protect himself, especially at night, when he slept with an axe at his bedside; and, finally, he determined to retaliate by killing certain of the offending foremen. Fortunately, he was restrained before he could execute this design. This man, while brooding over such thoughts, preached weekly from his own pulpit. Similar cases might be cited indefinitely. The details vary, but the essential symptoms are the same,—the presence of systematized delusions of persecution.

Thus much foreshadowed, let us consider the disease from its incipiency. Paranoia, more than any other form of insanity, is the result of inherited mental instability. Insanity, like most other diseases, is not directly transmissible as such. What is transmitted is an unstable nervous system, and this may be the heritage of a person in whose family there has never been a case of insanity,—if such a family exists. Perhaps a progenitor has been a drunkard or the victim of some wasting disease. His descendant may be merely nervous; he may have chorea or epilepsy; he may become insane. At the best, he may usually, if properly educated, learn to understand himself and to live a sane and useful life. We have here to do, however, only with the cases in which a wrong environing influence aids in the development of a particular form of insanity. It is possible to outline pretty definitely the mental attributes. One may even point out in the child what might be termed the paranoiac temperament. Its characteristics are morbid sensitiveness and great egotism.

Unfortunately the parents of such a child usually take pride in the egoism that leads to eccentric acts; while the extreme precocity of many of these subjects causes their egotism to be fostered by ill-adjudged praise. Usually the child of paranoiac temperament is the genius of his family and the show pupil at

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school. Pampered and praised, even though the entire household becomes subordinated to his sovereign will, he is not satisfied, believing that he does not receive his dues. With that idea, the germs of paranoia are planted in his mind. Whether or not these germs will develop into the pathological condition that we are discussing, will depend largely upon the influences that are brought to bear upon them during adolescence and early manhood. Perhaps the most unfavorable environment is one in which the mind is developed at the expense of the body. And, of course, the brilliant child is the one whose mental training will be forced. The other children of the family may stay at home, but this one must be sent to college and fitted for one of the learned professions. Usually he seems to justify this discrimination. Often he is an "honor" man at college, and he starts out into the world with every seeming prospect of an eminently prosperous career.

But all this time he has become more and more eccentric. He has associated little with his fellows. Often he has shown himself possessed of extraordinary energy and capacity for application. A peculiarity often noted is a tendency to make elaborate written records of trivial subjects. I knew one person who had literally kept a record as to every minute of his time since boyhood. Day after day, and year after year, such records as this would occur: "Arose at six; five minutes for exercise; ten minutes bathing; twelve dressing. Read Shakespeare thirty-three minutes. Breakfast one minute late; at table till 7:20. Walked to the office in twenty-seven minutes"—and so on throughout the day. Stupendous indeed must be the egotism that could imagine any possible future value in such wearisome details of a commonplace existence.

Occasionally the young person of paranoiac temperament breaks down under the unbalancing influences of overstudy while still at school. But usually the critical stress comes after he has gone out into the world. He is usually not yet insane. He may never become so. If his business or professional ventures succeed, he may become distinguished, and contact with the world may gradually correct the morbid tendencies. But if adverse circumstances arise and refuse to be put down, especially if the individual's vanity is wounded by failure to rise to the heights pictured by ambition, morbid brooding may develop out of vanity, selfishness, and suspicion, the delusion of persecution.

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But it must not be supposed that the mature condition is merely egotism and egoism run riot. That it has come to be something more than this is proved by the appearance, sooner or later, of hallucinations of one or more of the senses. These do not necessarily coincide at first with delusions. The incipient paranoiac may hear voices about him and for a time be able to convince himself of their unreality. But, sooner or later, these sounds become so tangible that they have the full force and import of actual voices. At first he hears them only when people are actually speaking, his mind merely misinterpreting what it hears. This perversion is technically termed an illusion. But at last he hears words and sentences when no real sound comes to his ears: these are true hallucinations. Perversions of other senses usually precede or follow this one. Illusions of touch and smell are common. The former lead to a belief in invisible spirits that touch the body; and the latter convince the patient that attempts are being made to poison him with noxious gases. When to this cluster of perverted sensations hallucinations of sight are added, the galaxy is complete, and the victim moves and has his being in an ideal world peopled with odors, tastes, sounds and sights that are shut out from the common herd. A patient who had reached this stage outlines his own feelings as follows: "I have gradually come to a positive assurance that the thoughts of my mind are shared by others, and that they act from that knowledge with a view of influencing me and directing my actions; that the appearances of animate and inanimate nature also correspond to my thoughts in such a way as to check and direct them; that ordinary speech and language are so perverted as to have a double meaning, the secondary sense relating to my actions or thoughts. All is so constituted as to form a distinct and new and strange world, in which, however, most objects remain familiar."

The last clause is of especial significance. The patient lives a dual existence. For a time he is able to treat the actual world in the old familiar way—that is, sanely; meanwhile keeping the new and strange world hidden. But gradually he comes to confound the two existences. If, for example, on going out to mail a letter, he finds a group of men on the first corner discussing this very letter and repeating its contents, the incident has practical bearings that cannot be overlooked. If, now, such experiences

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multiply until he is followed wherever he goes by voices that discuss his most intimate secrets, it is not strange that he is dominated by the delusions. He comes to believe that hosts of people are leagued against him, and all sane interests give way to a desire to thwart those imagined foes.

At this stage of his morbid career the patient becomes very dangerous, though he may still seem to be the most peaceable of men. Murders are often committed by patients in this condition. But many more intended murders that are carefully planned are never executed because of the irresolution of the would-be murderer. A typical illustration from actual experience will best emphasize this point. A very intelligent young man, who had given up his position as principal of a school because of the machinations of imagined enemies, secured a position in the New York Post-Office. Before starting out on the first morning, he said, casually, to his wife, "I mean to interfere with no one, and to try to do my whole duty." No sooner had he begun work than first one and then another of his fellow employees began nodding toward him, saying sneeringly, "Oh, he's doing his whole duty; of course we are not doing ours," and so on. Presently they began to repeat other sayings of his, and to tell of all manner of things connected with his private life. One man in particular made such outrageous insinuations that he felt called upon to retaliate. He never spoke in response, but procured a revolver, and resolved to shoot the most insolent of his tormentors. But, fortunately, this dangerous resolve was combated by another delusion. As soon as he entered the room he became certain that all the employees knew of the weapon, and that several were watching him, prepared to spring upon him when he attempted to use it. Finding his plans for personal revenge thus thwarted, he made complaint to an official. A detective was sent to investigate. Puzzled at first, he at last solved the problem and averted a tragedy.

All this time the insane man had gone on with his work, to all appearances as sane a man as could be found in the department. Similar cases come to the notice of every alienist. The secretiveness of these patients makes it impossible to predict as to when they will act. Suspecting everyone they usually make a confidant of no one; and, as shown in the case just cited, they will quietly brook all manner of imagined insults while plotting a terrible revenge. Their victims are usually altogether uncon-

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scious of their purpose. The man who so narrowly escaped being shot in the instance just cited does not to this day suspect that he worked beside an insane man, much less that he had offended him, and that his life was hourly in jeopardy.

The next stage in the development of the paranoiac mind is, anomalous as it may seem, a perfectly logical one. A patient with the delusions just outlined naturally broods long and earnestly over the situation in which he is placed. Wherever he goes his enemies pursue him, and he may for a time be greatly depressed by the troubles that are no less real to him because they originate, and exist, only in his imagination. At times he may question whether the fault does not lie with himself. But this doubting stage is not of long duration. Gradually it dawns upon the patient that Goliath would not gird his loins against a dwarf, and that he who can be of such interest to so many classes of men must really be a person of importance. The native egotism with which paranoiacs are so largely endowed fosters and develops this idea. At first it is a vague and faltering belief, but in time it comes to be a firm and unwavering conviction. According to the native bent of the individual the grandiose ideas will take a political, a social, or a religious direction. Among the most typical cases are those in which the patient comes ultimately to think himself the inspired messenger of God,—the new Messiah. With such a fixed belief as this, and with the hallucinations of sight and hearing so developed that the patient sees visions and receives divine communications constantly, the disease Paranoia may be said to have reached its culmination. The patient still believes himself to be persecuted, but he now has courage to bear up against his enemies, with the assurance of ultimate victory.

It will be understood that in giving this sketch of the development of paranoia I am attempting nothing beyond the most general outline. I have called attention to what I consider the fundamental properties of the disease. I should consider no case entitled to rank as paranoia in which there did not appear at one time or another, (1) Delusions of persecution; (2) Hallucinations; (3) Delusions of grandeur. But the relative importance of these typical conditions may vary greatly in different cases. Individual temperament and experience may so change the aspect of a case that these broad outlines are obscured. In a certain case, for example, the grandiose ideas may seem to be the

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first development of the disease. The patient goes to bed seemingly sane, and awakens with the idea that he is a president, king, or Deity. His delusions were masked, perhaps not more than vaguely outlined even in his own mind, and the excitement of a political campaign or religious revival, or some domestic or business catastrophe, has produced, at a bound, mental changes that otherwise might have been effected only after years of insane brooding. Usually in such cases there occurs a temporary recession of the disease when excitement has subsided.

In another case, the hallucinations may for a long time be masked and difficult of detection. In yet another, the grandiose ideas are of slow development or are concealed with great subtlety. The germ of the grandiose idea is present from the first, in the form of egotism and its outgrowth, great ambition; but modesty or secretiveness—two traits often confounded—may keep the patient from divulging his hopes either before or after their culmination in delusions of grandeur. The grandiose idea is, after all, only a day-dream come to seem an actuality; and the most visionary of day-dreamers are not usually the most free to express their aspirations in words. Moreover, grandiose ideas, like all other things, are relative. Here is one patient whose highest flight of grandiosity makes him only a police captain; while beside him is another, not one whit more insane, who is the Pope and the secular king of the world as well. The one when sane was of little education and low position; the other, a man of culture and position.

Again, all cases of paranoia are subject to periodic vacillations. There are periods of stress and strain, times of excitation when the manifestations of disease are vivid and pronounced. Then there may be long periods of remission when the insane ideas seem dormant. But back of all variation there is, as it were, an undercurrent of remorseless fate driving the victim on and on through channels of delusion and hallucination towards the paranoiac ultimatum, the delusion of grandeur. And when once this paranoiac seal is set upon a victim its stamp is ineffaceable. The characteristics of the disease, already outlined, sufficiently explain why this is so. On the physical side, it appears that there is going on a steady degeneration of a brain that was at best ill-developed. This degeneration, however, does not become sufficient to endanger the patient's life; nor even to produce the very

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marked general dementia which is the goal of every other chronic form of insanity. Year after year, and decade after decade, the paranoiac may go on his erratic way, nursing an ever-multiplying host of delusions, building castles of sand, and wildly pursuing *ignes fatui*. If he has artistic or literary tastes he may produce, spasmodically, brilliant works, but his efforts are seldom long sustained in one direction.

Usually from time to time it suits his fancy to devote his energies to the cause of some reform league for revolutionizing society or the government. If his native temperament be amiable he will be simply a fanatic, perhaps a socialist; if vicious, he will probably become an anarchist. He is usually nothing if not progressive, and a new fad, especially if it be an occult one, is meat and drink to him. Revivalism, spiritualism, faith cure, Christian science, theosophy are his pastimes. In short, everything that is vague, visionary, occult, finds a following—often the originator—among the paranoiac ranks. They will propagandize these ideas from the house tops, but their own personal delusions are usually kept sacredly locked in their own bosoms. But their eccentricities of manner and speech usually cause their sanity to be called in question from time to time. If because of outrageous conduct they are placed in an asylum, often some acquaintance, regarding them as sane, stands ready with a writ of habeas corpus. And when brought before the sheriff's jury, they are usually discharged as perfectly sane. There are numbers of them at large in the community to-day, planning and from time to time executing such crimes as have already been cited, who have been released from one asylum or another by juries who believed that they did their duty. No doubt the average juror judges honestly in these cases according to his light, but his light is very dim.

It is, in fact, no easy matter to fathom some of these cases. The patient may understand fully what are regarded as his delusions, and may be able to discuss the psychological aspects of his case with acumen and brilliancy. If he is disposed to be candid, his peculiar interpretations will give the clue to his disease. But, quite as often, he intentionally hides all delusional ideas, and scornfully repudiates them if they are suggested. In some cases, dissembling is carried on to an extent that renders detection almost impossible. I have known a patient, influenced by delusions, to drive his wife from the house with furious threats against

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her life; and a minute later to meet the neighbors, who were summoned, with a smiling face, a manner of surprised benignity, and with a scriptural quotation on his lips. To decide on such a case as that requires something more than casual observation and a surface knowledge of psychology.

Many people suppose that an insane man can be known as such at a glance. Such should be informed that many paranoiacs have pleasant, benignant faces, altogether unsuggestive of their disease. The "maniac eye" is largely a device of fiction. But imagination is a wondrous perverter of our senses, and of course everyone can see a wild glare in the eye of a "madman" who has committed a murder, though the glare would have been undiscovered had the same man come before a jury on a writ of habeas corpus instead. Looking upon the head of the bomb-thrower, Norcross, a reporter wrote: "The face is one of those which once seen can never be forgotten. Meeting the owner of the face for the first time, the casual observer would instinctively associate him with revolution, anarchy, socialism, dynamite, and feverish unrest." But a man who had known him in life, viewing this same "anarchistic" face said: "Norcross was about the last person I would suspect of throwing a bomb to take any one's life, or of contemplating suicide. He was mild-mannered and prepossessing in appearance. In other words, he was a fine, respectable, gentlemanly-looking fellow." Comment in this relation is unnecessary.

Throughout this discussion I have, for the sake of convenience, used the masculine gender. It perhaps hardly needs to be said that women are equally subject to the disease. Its broad outlines are the same in both sexes, but among females certain minor modifications are noted. Female paranoiacs less frequently commit murders or other atrocities, but they do what perhaps is worse, they blast the reputation of many innocent men,—ministers perhaps more often than any other class. About the commonest of delusions, especially with spinster paranoiacs, is that of being drugged and assaulted at night. Auditory and olfactory hallucinations furnish the foundation for these beliefs. An estimable woman of this class has recently published a book in which she gravely narrates delusions of this kind in detail. Fortunately the context affords a key to her accusations. Similar works have been published from time to time, each one in sub-

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stance like its fellows; all breathing earnestness, honesty, and delusion on every page. They illustrate the fulness of faith with which the paranoiac contemplates the air castles of his perverted mind.

The reader of the foregoing pages will doubtless feel that Paranoia has been made to seem a very dreadful and very hopeless condition. In truth, it is all that it seems. The paranoiac is the curse of his friends, the despair of his neighbors, a menace to society. And yet he has his place in the social organism. He is in the evolution of society what the "sport" is in the Darwinian scheme. Differing in mental conformation from his fellows, he must needs move in different channels from the generality of mankind. In other words, he must be the originator of new ideas, new methods, new actions. In the vast majority of cases his line of departure is not a useful one to humanity, so, according to the law of the survival of the fittest, he and his methods are weeded out. Occasionally his line of departure is in a beneficial direction. His methods then survive, his reforms are promulgated; he becomes a great prophet, a great genius; he is immortalized. Here, and here only, lies the point of contact between genius and insanity. Not all geniuses are insane, and few indeed are the insane who have a spark of genius. The rare exceptions are the paranoiacs whose perverted energies have chanced to carry them to useful fields not hitherto explored.

I have adverted to this phase of the subject because I wish to point a moral which I would that every parent and every director of the forming mind could take to heart. It is this: Whenever there comes under your care one of those eccentric, brilliant, precocious children whom you are prone to regard as a budding genius, learn to believe that you have probably to do with incipient paranoia instead, and govern yourself accordingly. By restraining the energies and checking the eccentricities of such a child you may do something towards moulding an aberrant mind back towards normality; by stimulating the energies and fostering the germs of "genius" you may help to prepare a victim for an asylum or a prison. There is some hope that you may develop a sane man out of a child of paranoiac temperament; there is little fear that you will clip the wings of genius.

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

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THE SERVANT-GIRL'S POINT OF VIEW.

BY MRS. AMELIA E. BARR, AUTHOR OF "JAN VEDDER'S WIFE," "FRIEND OLIVIA," ETC.

A GREAT deal has been said lately on the servant-girl question, always from the mistresses' point of view; and as no *ex-parte* evidence is conclusive, I offer for the servant-girl side some points that may help to a better understanding of the whole subject.

It is said, on all hands, that servants every year grow more idle, showy, impudent, and independent. The last charge is emphatically true, and it accounts for and includes the others. But then this independence is the necessary result of the world's progress, in which all classes share. Steam has made it easy for families to travel, who, without cheap locomotion, would never go one hundred miles from home. It has also made it easy for servants to go from city to city. When wages are low and service is plenty in one place, a few dollars will carry them to where they are in request.

Fifty years ago very few servants read, or cared to read. They are now the best patrons of a certain class of newspapers; they see the "Want columns" as well as other people; and they are quite capable of appreciating the lessons they teach and the advantages they offer. The national increase of wealth has also affected the position of servants. People keep more servants than they used to keep; and servants have less work to do. People live better than they used to live, and servants, as well as others, feel the mental uplifting that comes from rich and plentiful food.

But one of the main causes of trouble is, that a mistress even yet hires her servant with some ancient ideas about her inferiority. She forgets that servants read novels, and do fancy work, and

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write lots of letters; and that service can no longer be considered the humble labor of a lower for a superior being. Mistresses must now dismiss from their minds the idea of the old family servant they have learned to meet in novels; they must cease to look upon service as in any way a family tie; they must realize and practically acknowledge the fact that the relation between mistress and servant is now on a purely commercial basis—the modern servant being a person who takes a certain sum of money for the performance of certain duties. Indeed the condition has undergone just the same change as that which has taken place in the relation between the manufacturer and his artisans or between the contractor and his carpenters and masons.

It is true enough that servants take the money and do not perform the duties, or else perform them very badly. The manufacturer, the contractor, the merchant, all make the same complaint; for independence and social freedom always step *before* fitness for these conditions, because the condition is necessary for the results, and the results are not the product of one generation. Surely Americans may bear their domestic grievances without much outcry, since they are altogether the consequences of education and progress, and are the circumstances which make possible much higher and better circumstances.

For just as soon as domestic service is authoritatively and publicly made a commercial bargain, and all other ideas eliminated from it, service will attract a much higher grade of women. The independent, fairly well-read American girl will not sell her labor to women who insist on her giving any part of her personality but the work of her hands. She feels interference in her private affairs to be an impertinence on any employer's part. She does not wish any mistress to take an interest in her, to advise, to teach, or reprove her. She objects to her employer being even what is called "friendly." All she asks is to know her duties and her hours, and to have a clear understanding as to her work and its payment. And when service is put upon this basis openly, it will draw to it many who now prefer the harder work, poorer pay, but larger independence, of factories.

Servants are a part of our social system, but our social system is being constantly changed and uplifted, and servants rise with it. I remember a time in England when servants who did not fulfil their year's contract were subject to legal punishment;

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when a certain quality of dress was worn by them, and those who over-dressed did so at the expense of their good name ; when they seldom moved to any situation beyond walking distance from their birthplace ; when, in fact, they were more slaves than servants. Would any good woman wish to restore service to this condition?

On the servant's part the root of all difficulty is her want of respect for her work ; and this, solely because her work has not yet been openly and universally put upon a commercial basis. When domestic service is put on the same plane as mechanical service, when it is looked upon as a mere business bargain, then the servant will not feel it necessary to be insolent and to do her work badly, simply to let her employer know how much she is above it. Much has been done to degrade service by actors, newspapers, and writers of all kinds giving to the domestic servant names of contempt as "flunkies," "menials," etc., etc. If such terms were habitually used regarding mechanics, we might learn to regard masons and carpenters with disdain. Yet domestic service is as honorable as mechanical service, and the woman who can cook a good dinner is quite as important to society as the man who makes the table on which it is served.

Yet, whether mistresses will recognize the change or not, service has in a great measure emancipated itself from feudal bonds. Servants have now a social world of their own, of which their mistresses know nothing at all. In it they meet their equals, make their friends, and talk as they desire. Without unions, without speeches, and without striking—because they can get what they want without striking—they have raised their wages, shortened their hours, and obtained many privileges. And the natural result is an independence,—which for lack of proper expression asserts itself by the impertinence and self-conceit of ignorance,—that has won more in tangible rights than in intangible respect.

Mistresses who have memories or traditions are shocked because servants do not acknowledge their superiority, or in any way reverence their "betters." But reverence for any earthly thing is the most un-American of attitudes. Reverence is out of date and offensively opposed to free inquiry. Parents do not exact it, and preachers do not expect it—the very title of "Rev." is now a verbal antiquity. Do we not even put our rulers through a course of hand-shaking in order to divest them of any respect

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the office might bring? Why then expect a virtue from servants which we do not practise in our own stations?

It is said, truly enough, that servants think of nothing but dress. Alas, mistresses are in the same transgression! This is the fault of machinery. When servants wore mob-caps and ginghams, mistresses wore muslins and merinos, and were passing fine with one good silk dress. Machinery has made it possible for mistresses to get lots of dresses, and if servants are now fine and tawdry, it is because there is a general leaning that way. Servants were neat when every one else was neat.

To blame servants for faults we all share is really not reasonable. It must be remembered that women of all classes dress to make themselves attractive, and attractive mainly to the opposite sex. What the young ladies in the parlor do to make themselves beautiful to their lovers, the servants in the kitchen imitate. Both classes of young women are anxious to marry. There is no harm in this desire in either case. With the hopes of the young ladies we do not meddle; why then interfere about nurse and the policeman: service is not an elysium under the most favorable circumstances. No girl gets fond of it, and a desire to be mistress of her own house—however small it may be—is not a very shameful kicking against Providence.

The carrying out of three points would probably revolutionize the whole condition of service:

First, The relation should be put upon an absolutely commercial basis; and made as honorable as mechanical, or factory, or store service.

Second, Duties and hours should be clearly defined. There should be no interference in personal matters. There should be no more personal interest expected, or shown, than is the rule between any other employer and employee.

Third, If it were possible to induce yearly engagements, they should be the rule; for when people know they have to put up with each other for twelve months, they are more inclined to be patient and forbearing; they learn to make the best of each other's ways; and bearing becomes liking, and habit strengthens liking, and so they go on, and on, and are pretty well satisfied.

AMELIA E. BARR.

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THE PENALTIES OF A WELL-KNOWN NAME.

BY OUIDA.

When in childhood, if we be made of the stuff which dreams ambitious dreams, we see the allegorical figure of Fame blowing her long trumpet down the billowy clouds, we think how delightful and glorious it must be to have a name which echoes from that golden clarion. Nothing seems to us worth the having, except a share in that echoing windy blast. To be famous: it is the vision of all poetic youth, of all ambitious energies, of all struggling and unrecognized talent. To be picked out by the capricious goddess and lifted up from the crowd to sit beside her on her throne of cloud, seems to the fancy of youth the loftiest and loveliest of destinies.

In truth, celebrity has its pleasant side. To possess a name which is an open sesame wherever it is pronounced is not only agreeable, but is often useful. It opens doors easily, whether they be of palaces or of railway stations; it saves you from arrest if you be sketching fortifications; it obtains *kudos* for you from every one, from ministers to inn-keepers; in a word, it marks you as something out of the common, not lightly to be meddled with, or neglected with impunity. It has its practical uses and its daily advantages, if it have also this prosaic drawback, that, like other conspicuous personages, you pay fifty per cent. dearer than ordinary people for everything which you consume. "Nobody would sell a wretched ambassador a cauliflower for two pence!" said a friend of mine, who is an ambassador himself, standing before the stalls of a foreign market place where this useful vegetable was being sold at four sous apiece. But he forgot that before the cauliflower could appear on his own table it would have to dress itself up with many condiments and become a choice dish with a long name, and he forgot also the old true saying, *il faut souffrir pour être beau.*

Fame, like position, has its ugly side; whatever phase of it be taken, whatever celebrity, notoriety, distinction, or fashion, it

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brings its own penalties with it, and it may be that these penalties underweigh its pleasures.

The most cruel of its penalties is the loss of privacy which it entails; the difficulty which it raises to the enjoyment of free and unobserved movement. Whether the owner of a well-known name desire privacy for the rest of solitude, for the indulgence of some affection of which it is desired that the world shall know nothing, for the sake of repose and ease, or for the pursuit of some especial study, the *incognito* sighed for is almost always impossible to obtain.

Find the most retired and obscure of places, amidst hills where no foot but the herdsman's treads, and pastures which feel no step but those of the cattle, a mountain or forest nook which you fondly believe none but yourself and one other know of as existing on the face of the globe; yet brief will be your and your companion's enjoyment of it if your life or one of your lives be famous; the press will track you like a sleuth-hound, and all your precautions will be made as naught, and, indifferent to the harm they do or the misery they create, the Paul Prys of broadsheets will let in the glare of day upon your dusky, mossy dell.

The artist has, no doubt, in this much for which to blame himself: why does the dramatist deign to bow from his box? why does the composer salute his audience? why does the painter have shows at his studio? why does the great writer tell his confidences to the newspaper hack?

Because they are afraid of creating the enmity and the unpopularity which would be engendered by their refusal. Behind this vulgar, intrusive espionage and examination there lies the whole force of the malignity of petty natures and inferior minds —i. e., two thirds of the world. The greater is afraid of the lesser: the giant fears the sling or the stone of the pigmy; he is alone, and the pigmies are multitudinous as the drops in the sea.

We give away the magic belt which makes us invisible, without knowing in the least all that we give away with it: all that delightful independence and repose which are the portion of the *humbles de la terre*, who, all the same, do not value it, do not appreciate it; do not, indeed, ever cease from dissatisfaction at it. In their ignorance they think how glorious it must be to stand in the white blaze of the electric light of celebrity; how enviable and delightful it surely is to move forever in a buzz of

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wondering voices and a dust of rolling chariots, never to stir unchronicled and never to act uncommented. Hardly can one persuade them of the treasure which they possess in their own obscurity ? If we tell them of it, they think we laugh at them or lie.

Privacy is the necessity of good and great art, as it is the corollary of dignity and decorum in life. But it is bought with a price ; it is bought by incurring the dislike and vindictiveness of all who are checked in their petty malice and prying curiosity and are sent away from closed doors.

The ideal literary life is that of Michelet ; the ideal artistic life is that of Corot. Imagine the one leaving the song of the birds and the sound of the seas to squabble at a Copyright Congress, or the other leaving his green trees and his shining waters to pour out the secrets with which nature had intrusted him in the ear of a newspaper reporter ! If a correspondent of the press had hidden behind an elder-bush on a grassy path at Shottery, methinks Shakespeare would have chucked him into the nearest ditch; and if a stenographer had inquired of Dante what meats had tasted so bitter to him at Can Grande's table, beyond a doubt the meddler would have learned the coldness and the length of a Florentine rapier. But then none of these men was occupied with his own personality, none of them had the restless uneasiness, the morbid fear, which besets the modern hero lest, if his contemporaries do not prate of him, generations to come will know naught of him.

Then, alas ! oftentimes, the fox, with his pen and ink hidden under his fur, creeps in, wearing the harmless skin of a familiar house-dog, and the unhappy hare or pullet, who has received, caressed, and fed him without suspicion, sees too late an account of his good nature and of his habitation travestied and sent flying on a news-sheet to the four quarters of the globe. Against treachery of this kind there is no protection possible. All that can be done is to be very slow in giving or allowing introductions ; very wary in making new acquaintances, and wholly indifferent to the odium incurred by being called exclusive.

Interrogation is always ill-bred ; and an intrusion that takes the form of a prolonged interrogation is an intrusion so intolerable that any rudeness whatever is justifiable in its repression.

The man of genius gives his work, his creation, his *alter ego*, to the world, whether it be in political policy, in literary com-

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position, in music, sculpture, painting, or statuary. This the world has full right to judge, to examine, to applaud, or to condemn; but beyond this, into the pale of his private life it has no possible title to entry. It is said in the common jargon of criticism that without knowing the habits, temperament, physique, and position of the artist, it is impossible to correctly judge his creation. It is, on the contrary, a hindrance to the unbiassed judgment of any works to be already prejudicial *per* or *contra* by knowledge of the accidents and attributes of those who have produced them. It is a morbid appetite, as well as a vulgar taste, that makes the public invade the privacy of those who lead, instruct, or adorn their century, and these last have themselves to thank, in a great measure, for the pests which they have let loose.

Every day any one who bears a name in any way celebrated receives requests or questions from persons who are unknown to him, demanding his views on everything from Buddhism to blacking, and inquiring into every detail of his existence, from his personal affections to his favorite dish at dinner. If he deign to answer them, he is as silly as the senders.

Sometimes you will hear that a town has been named after you in America, or Australia, or Africa, with the addendum of the inevitable *ville* attached to your name: it is usually a few planks laid down in a barren plain, and you are expected to be grateful that your patronymic will be shouted on a siding as the railway train rushes by it. Sometimes an enthusiastic and unknown letter writer will implore you to tell him or her "everything" about yourself, from your birth onwards; and if, as you will certainly do if you be in your senses, you consign the impudent appeal to the waste-paper basket, your undesired correspondent will probably fill up the *lacuna* from his or her own imagination. Were all this the offspring of genuine admiration, it might be in a measure excused, though it would always be ill-bred, noxious, and odious. But it is either an impertinent curiosity or a desire to make money.

The moment that your name is well known, the demands made upon you will be as numerous as they will be imperative. Though you may never have given any permission or any data for a biography, the fact will not prevent hundreds of biographies appearing about you: that they are fictitious and unauthorized matters nothing either to those who publish or to those who

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read. Descriptions, often wholly inaccurate, of your habits, your tastes, your appearance, your manner of life, will be put in circulation, no matter how offensive or how injurious to you they may be. Your opinions will be demanded by strangers whose only object is to obtain for themselves some information which they can turn to profit. From the frequency or rarity of your dreams to the length of your menu at dinner, nothing will escape the insatiable appetite of an unwholesome and injurious inquisitiveness. Obscure nonentities called Stubbs, or Stadge, or Briggs, or Bragg, will imagine that they honor you by writing that they have baptized their brats in your name, and requesting some present or acknowledgment in return for their unwelcome effrontery in taking you as an eponymus.

It is probable, nay, I think, certain, that in no epoch of the world's history was prominence in any art or any career ever rendered so extremely uncomfortable as in ours, never so heavily handicapped with the observation and penalty-weight of inquisitive misrepresentation. All the indications of the age tend to increase a thousandfold all that minute examination of and impudent interference with others which were alive in the race in the days of Miltiades and Socrates, but which has now, in its so-called scientific toys, the means of gratifying this mischievous propensity in an infinitely greater and more dangerous degree.

The instant that any man or woman accomplishes anything which is in any way remarkable, the curiosity of the public is roused and fastens on his or her private life to the neglect and detriment of his or her creations. The composer of the "Cavalleria Rusticana," an opera which, whatever may or may not be its artistic merit, has had charm and melody enough to run like a flame of fire across Italy during the past summer, awakening the applause of the whole nation, has dwelt in obscurity and poverty up to the moment when his work arouses a fury of delight in his country people. Lo! the press immediately seizes on every detail of his hard, laborious life, and makes a jest of his long hair. What has his life or his hair to do with the score of the "Cavalleria Rusticana?" What has the fact that he has written limpid and bewitching music, which has the secret of rousing the enthusiasm of the populace, to do with the private circumstances, habits, or preferences of his daily existence? It is an in-

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tolerable impudence which can presume to pry into the latter because the former has revealed in him that magic gift of inspiration which makes him momentarily master of the souls of others.

The human mind is too quickly colored, too easily disturbed, for it to be possible to shake off all alien bias and reflected hues; and it is more just to the dead than to the living, because it is not by the dead moved either to that envy or detraction, that favor or adulation, which it unconsciously imbibes from all it hears and knows of the living.

Whoever else may deem that the phonograph, the telephone, and the photographic apparatus are beneficial to the world, every man and woman who has a name of celebrity in that world must curse them with deadliest hatred. Life is either a miserable and weak submission to their demands, or a perpetual and exhausting struggle against and conflict with their pretensions, in the course of which warfare enemies are made inevitably and continually by the tens of thousands. He who bends beneath the decrees of the sovereign spy is popular at the price of dignity and peace. Those who refuse to so stoop are marked out for abuse and calumny from all those who live by or are diverted by the results of the espionage. There is no middle way between the two; you must be the obedient slave or the irreconcilable opponent of all the numerous and varied forms of public inquiry and personal interference. The walls of Varzin have never been high enough to keep out the interviewer, and the trees of Faringford have never been so thickly planted that they availed to screen the study of the poet. The little, through these means and methods, have found out that they can annoy, harass, torment, and turn to profit, the great. Who that knows humanity could hope that the former would abstain from the exercise of such power?

In early youth we know not what we do, we cannot measure all we part with in seeking the publicity which accompanies success; we do not realize that the long trumpet of our goddess Fame will mercilessly blow away our dearest secrets to the ears of all, and so strain and magnify them that they will be no more recognized by us, though become the toy of all. We do not appreciate, until we have lost it, the delightful unregarded peace with which the obscure of this world can love, hate, caress, curse, move, sit still, be sick, be sorry, be gay or glad, bear their children, bury their dead, unnoted, untormented, unobserved.

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The worst result of the literary clamor for these arrays of facts, or presumed facts, is that the ordinary multitude, who have not the talent of the original seekers, imitate the latter, and deem it of more importance to know what any famous person eats, drinks, and wears, in what way he sins, and in what manner he sorrows, than it does to rightly measure and value his picture, his position, his romance, or his poem. Journalistic inquisitiveness has begotten an unwholesome appetite, an impudent curiosity, in the world, which leaves those conspicuous in it neither peace nor privacy.

The press throughout the whole world feeds this appetite, and the victims, either from timidity or vanity, do not do what they might do to condemn and resist it. The interviewer too often finds his impertinent intrusion unresented for him, or the public which employs him, to reach any consciousness of his intolerable effrontery. He has behind him those many-handed powers of anathema and misrepresentation and depreciation which are called the fourth estate, and almost all celebrity is afraid of provoking the reprisals in print which would follow on a proper and peremptory ejection of the unsought visitor.

Because a man or woman more gifted than the common multitude bestows upon the world some poem or romance, some picture, statue, or musical composition, of excellence and beauty, by what possible right can the world pry into his or her privacy and discuss his or her fortunes and character? The work belongs to the public, the creator of the work does not. The invasion of private life and character never was so great or so general as it is in the last years of this century. It is born of two despicable parents, curiosity and malignity. Beneath all the flattery, which too frequently covers with flowers the snake of inquisitiveness, the snake's hiss of envy may be plainly heard by those who have ears to hear. It is the hope to find, sometime, some flaw, some moral or physical disease, some lesion of brain or decay of fortune, in the private life of those whom they profess to admire or adore, which brings the interviewer crawling to the threshold and peering through the keyhole. What rapture for those who cannot write anything more worthy than a newspaper paragraph, to discover that the author of "Salammbo" was an epileptic! What consolation for those who cannot string rhymes together at a child's party to stand beside the bedside of Heine and watch "the pale Jew writhe and sweat!"

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In Dalou's monument to Eugene Delacroix he represents the great painter with his chin sunk in the *cache-nez*, which his chilly and fragile organization led to his uncovering generally, no matter whether the weather was fine or foul. Dalou has outraged art, but he has delighted his contemporaries and crystallized their taste; the *cache-nez* about the throat of the man of genius enchants the common herd, which catches cold perpetually, but could not paint an inch of canvas or a foot of fresco, and feels jealously, restlessly, malignantly, grudgingly, that the creator of the "Entreé des Croisé's" and the "Barque da Dante," so far above them in all else, is brought nearer to them by that folded foulard. The statue in the gardens of the Luxembourg is an epitome of the sentiment to the eye; time, glory, and art bend before Delacroix and offer him the palms of immortality; Apollo throws his lyre away in sympathy and ecstasy; but what the mortal crowds see and applaud is the disfiguring neckerchief!

It is the habit of scholars to lament that so little is known of the private life of Shakespeare. It is, rather, most fortunate that we know so little, and that little but vaguely. What can we want to know more than the plays tell us? Why should we desire to have records which, drawing earthwards the man, might draw us also downwards from that high empyrean of thought where we can dwell through the magic of the poet's incantations?

It may be a natural instinct which leads the crowd to crave and seek personal details of the lives of those who are greater than their fellows, but it is an instinct to be discouraged and repressed by all who care for the dignity of art. The cry of the realists for *documents humains* is a phase of it; and results from the poverty of imagination in those who require such documents as the scaffolding of their creations. The supreme gift of the true artist is a rapidity of perception and comprehension which is totally unlike the slow piecemeal observations of others. As the musician reads the page of a score at a glance, as the author comprehends the essence of a book by a flash of intelligence, as the painter sees at a glance the points and lines and hues of a landscape, whilst the ordinary man plods through the musical composition note by note, the book page by page, the landscape detail by detail, so the true artist, whether poet, painter, or dramatist, sees human nature,

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penetrating its disguises and embracing all its force and weakness by that insight which is within him. The catalogues, the classifications, the microscopic examinations, which are required to make up these "*documents,*" are required by those who have not that instantaneous comprehension which is the supreme gift of all supreme talent. The man who takes his notebook and enumerates in it the vegetables, the fish, the game, of the markets, missing no bruise on a peach, no feather in a bird, no stain on the slab where the perch and trout lie dying, will make a painstaking inventory, but he will not see the whole scene as Teniers or Callot saw it. When the true poet or artist takes up in his hand a single garden pear or russet apple, he will behold, through its suggestions, as in a sorcerer's mirror, a whole smiling land of orchard and of meadow; he will smell the sweet scent of ripe fruit and wet leaves; he will tread a thousand grassy ways and wade in a thousand rippling streams; he will hear the matin's bell and the even song, the lowing kine and the bleating flocks; he will think in a second of time of the trees which were in blossom when Drake and Raleigh sailed, and the fields which were green when the Tudor and Valois met, and the sunsets of long, long ago when Picardy was fierce in war and all over the Norman lands the bowmen tramped and the fair knights rode.

The phrasing of modern metaphysics calls this faculty assimilation; in other days it has been called imagination: be its name what it will, it is the one essential and especial possession of the poetic mind, which makes it travel over space and annihilate time and behold the endless life of innumerable forests as suggested to it by a single green leaf. When the writer, therefore, asks clamorously for folios on folios of *documents humains*, he proves that he has not this faculty, and that he is making an inventory of human qualities and vices rather than a portrait of them.

OUIDA.

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PROGRESS OF NATIONALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY EDWARD BELLAMY, AUTHOR OF "LOOKING BACKWARD."

TECHNICALLY, the term Nationalism, as descriptive of a definite doctrine of social and industrial reform, was first used in 1888 by clubs made up of persons who sympathized with the ideas of a proper industrial organization set forth in "Looking Backward," and believed in the feasibility of their substantial adoption as the actual basis of society. Nationalism, in this strict sense, is the doctrine of those who hold that the principle of popular government by the equal voice of all for the equal benefit of all, which, in advanced nations, is already recognized as the law of the political organization, should be extended to the economical organization as well; and that the entire capital and labor of nations should be nationalized, and administered by their people, through their chosen agents, for the equal benefit of all, under an equal law of industrial service.

In this sense of a definite philosophy and a positive programme, Nationalism is a plant of very recent growth. It would, however, be quite impossible to understand the reasons for its remarkable popularity and rapid spread, and equally impossible to calculate the probabilities of its future development, without taking into account the evolutionary processes of which it is the outcome.

The very idea of the nation as an organization for the purpose of using the collective forces for the general protection and welfare, logically involved, from the beginning, the extension of that organization to the industrial as well as to the political affairs of the people. Until the democratic idea became prevalent it was, however, possible for privileged classes to hold back this evolution; and so for unnumbered ages it has been held back. From the period at which the democratic idea gained ascendancy it could be a question of but a short time before the obvious in-

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terests of the majority of the people should lead to the democratizing of the national economic system to accord with the political system.

The Nationalist movement in the United States, instead of waiting till this late day, would have arisen fifty years ago as the natural sequence of the establishment of popular government and of the recognition that the national organization exists wholly and only for the promotion of the people's welfare, had it not been for the intervention of the slavery issue. It would indeed be more accurate to say that in a broad sense of the word the Nationalist movement did arise fifty years ago, for in spirit if not in form it may be said to date back to the forties. Those who are not familiar with the history of the extraordinary wave of socialistic enthusiam which swept over the United States at that period and led to the Brook Farm Colony and a score of phalansteries for communistic experiments, have missed one of the most significant as well as most picturesque chapters of American history. Some of the most eminent persons in the country, and many who afterwards became eminent, were connected with or in sympathy with these enterprises. That Horace Greeley would very possibly have devoted himself to some line of socialistic agitation, had not the slavery struggle come on, will surely be questioned by none who are familiar with his correspondence and early writings, and in this respect he was representative of a large group of strong and earnest spirits.

But slavery had to be done away with before talk of a closer, kinder brotherhood of men was in order or, indeed, anything but a mockery. So it was that presently these humane enthusiasts, these precursors of Nationalism, were drawn into the overmastering current of the anti-slavery agitation. Then came the war, which should be ranked the greatest in history, not merely on account of the extent of the territory and of the vastness of the armies involved, but far more because it issued, as such a war never did before, in the speedy reconciliation of the foes. The reunion of the North and South after the struggle is the best proof of the progress of humanity that history records, the best evidence that the Nationalist motto, "We war with systems not with men," is not in advance of the moral sense of the nation we appeal to.

The din of the fight had barely ceased when the progress of

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evolution towards economic Nationalism resumed its flow with an impetus only heightened by its interruption. But social conditions meanwhile had profoundly changed for the worse, and with them the character of the economic controversy, which now became full of rancor and bitterness. The speculative opportunities offered by the war had developed the millionaire and his shadow, the tramp. Contrasts of wealth, luxury, and arrogance with poverty, want, and abjectness, never before witnessed in America, now on every side mocked the democratic ideal and made the republic a laughing-stock.

The panic of 1873, with the seven lean years that followed in its train, ushered in the epoch of acute industrial discontent in this country. Then began the war between labor and capital. The phenomena of the period have been, on the one hand, ever-enlarging aggregations of capital, and the appropriation of the business field by groups of great monopolies; and, on the other hand, unprecedented combinations of labor in trades-unions, federations of unions and the Knights of Labor. Both classes of phenomena, the combinations of capital and of labor, were equally significant of the evolution towards economic Nationalism. The rise of the Knights of Labor, the great trades-unions, the Federation of Trades, and, on the agricultural side, of the Grangers, Patrons of Husbandry, Farmers' Alliances, and many other organizations, were demonstrating the feasibility of organizing the workers on a scale never dreamed of; while on the other side the enormous and ever-growing trusts and syndicates were proving the feasibility of organizing and centralizing the administration of capital on a scale of corresponding magnitude. Opposed as these two tendencies seemed, they were yet destined to be combined in the synthesis of Nationalism, and were necessary stages in its evolution. Both alike, in all their phases, were blind gropings towards completer union, confessions of a necessity of organizing forces for common ends, that could find their only logical result in Nationalism, when the nation should become at once employed and employer, and labor and capital be blended in indistinguishable union.

Nor were there lacking, in the epoch spoken of, very conscious and definite appeals, although partial and inadequate ones, to the national idea as the proper line along which adequate remedies were to be sought. The greenback movement in its argument

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that the oppressions and inadequacies of the monetary system could only be removed by taking the issue of money wholly out of the control or influence of private persons and vesting it directly in the nation, was a distinct anticipation of Nationalism. The same idea was very evident in the proposition to reject the gold or silver standard as the basis of money and rest it broadly on the nation's assets and the nation's credit. It is true, indeed, that Nationalism, by making the nation the only storekeeper, and its relations of distribution with each citizen a direct one, excluding middlemen, will dispense with buying and selling between individuals, and render greenbacks as superfluous as other sorts of money. Nevertheless, in the spirit of its appeal to the national idea, Greenbackism was strongly tinctured with the sentiment of Nationalism.

Another of the fragmentary anticipations of Nationalism during the period referred to was the rise of the Knights of Labor. The peculiar merit of this admirable body is the broadly humane basis of its organization, which gives it an ethical distinction necessarily lacking to the mere trades-union. Its motto, "An injury to one is the concern of all," if extended to all classes, would be a good enough one for the most thorough-going Nationalist. The Knights of Labor, like the Greenbackers, believed in the national idea, and in dealing with the most formidable and dangerous class of private monopolies in this country demanded the nationalization of the railroads.

In enumerating the streams of tendency which were during this period converging towards Nationalism, mention should also be made of the various anti-monopoly parties that from time to time arose as local and more or less national parties. The platforms of some of these parties were extremely radical, and the dominant idea in the suggestion of remedies was an appeal to the nation.

Finally came the Henry George agitation. The extraordinary impression which Mr. George's book "Progress and Poverty" produced was a startling demonstration of the readiness of the public for some radical remedy of industrial evils. It is unnecessary to remind my readers that the nationalization of land was Mr. George's original proposition.

The foregoing considerations may perhaps sufficiently indicate how far back in American history the roots of Nationalism run, and how it may indeed be said to have been logically involved in the

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very principle of popular government on which the nation was founded.

A book of propaganda like "Looking Backward" produces an effect precisely in proportion as it is a bare anticipation in expression of what everybody was thinking and about to say. Indeed, the seeming paradox might almost be defended that in proportion as a book is effective it is unnecessary. The particular service of the book in question was to interpret the purport and direction of the conditions and forces which were tending towards Nationalism, and thereby to make the evolution henceforth a conscious, and not, as previously, an unconscious, one. The Nationalist who accepts that interpretation no longer sees in the unprecedented economical disturbances of the day a mere chaos of conflicting forces, but rather a stream of tendencies through ever larger experiments in concentration and combination towards the ultimate complete integration of the nation for economic as well as for political purposes. The sentiment of faith and good cheer born of this clear vision of the glorious end, and of the conviction that the seemingly contradictory and dangerous phenomena of the times are necessary means to that end, distinguishes the temper of the Nationalist as compared with that of other schools of reformers.

The first Nationalist club was organized in Boston by readers of "Looking Backward" in 1888. Almost simultaneously other clubs were organized in all parts of the country, something like one hundred and fifty having been reported within the following two years, the reporting having, however, been very laxly attended to. There never was, perhaps, a reform movement that got along with less management than that of the Nationalists. There has never been any central organization and little if any mutual organization of the clubs. Wherever in any community a few men and women have felt in sufficiently strong sympathy with the ideas of the Nationalists to desire to do something to spread them, they have formed an organization and gone ahead, with as much or little communication with other similar organizations as they have desired to have. While these clubs have been and are of the greatest use, and have accomplished remarkable results in leavening entire communities with Nationalism, there has never been any special effort to multiply them or otherwise to gather the whole body of believers into one band. We like to think that

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not one in a hundred who more or less fully sympathize with us is a member of a Nationalist club, or probably ever will be until the nation becomes the one Nationalist club.

The practical work of the organized Nationalists for the past four years has, of course, been chiefly educational, consisting in the effort, by lectures, books, and periodicals, to get their ideas before the people. The lack of a central organization on the part of the clubs prevents, very fortunately, the existence of any formal "official" organ. The nearest approach to such a publication was at first the *Nationalist*, a monthly, issued in Boston, which a year and a half ago was succeeded by *The New Nation*, a weekly, edited by the present writer, and devoted to the exposition of the principles and purposes of Nationalism, with the news of the movement.

In the brief period that has elapsed since the origin of the Nationalist movement, with its clearly defined philosophy and positive purpose, the growth of Nationalism in this country has been accelerated in an extraordinary manner. While it is impossible not to ascribe the acceleration largely to the literature and work of the Nationalists, it is not for a moment intended to imply that this growth is solely attributable to the strictly Nationalist propaganda. Throughout this paper the argument has been maintained that this specific movement is but the outcome of forces long in operation, which, by no means as yet wholly coalescing with strict Nationalism, continue to work consciously or unconsciously towards the same inevitable result.

It is unnecessary, surely, to do more than call attention to the great moral awakening upon the subject of social responsibilities and the ethical side, or rather the ethical soul and centre, of the industrial question, which has taken place within a very recent time. It was but yesterday that the pulpit was dumb on this class of themes, dumb because its hearers were deaf. Now, every Sunday hundreds of pulpits throughout the land are preaching social duty and the solidarity of nations and of humanity; declaring the duty of mutual love and service, whereby the strong are made bondmen to the weak, to be the only key to the social problem. This is the very soul of Nationalism. To be able to present this theme effectively has become the best passport of the clergyman to popular success, the secret of full houses. One of the most hopeful features of the Nationalist outlook from the first has been

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the heartiness with which a large contingent of the clergy has enlisted in it, claiming that it was, as it truly is, nothing more than Christianity applied to industrial organization. This we hope to make so apparent that erelong all Christian men shall be obliged either to abjure Christ or come with us.

The recent change in the trend of economic discussion as to the questions involved in the proposition of Nationalism has not been less marked than the moral awakening. Until very recently this country was twenty-five years behind the intelligence and practice of Europe as to sociological questions. That there might be such awkward things as strikes we had, indeed, learned since 1873; but that there was any such thing as a great industrial social question, of which these were but symptoms, had not dawned upon the public or on old-fashioned economists, who supposed that wisdom had died with Adam Smith. Remember that it was only a little while ago that "the social evil" was understood to refer exclusively to a special form of vice. It was imagined that there could not be any other social evil of consequence here in America unless, perhaps, it were intemperance in the use of alcoholic stimulants or tobacco. While the "effete monarchies of Europe" might have to rectify their institutions from time to time to keep pace with human progress, we rested in the serene conviction that General Washington and Mr. Jefferson had arranged our affairs for all time, and that negro slavery was the last problem we should have to dispose of. And let it be observed, that these great patriots, in setting up popular self-government, did give us a finality of principle, but that an economic as well as a political method, in order to give effect to that principle, has now become necessary.

Where is now that easy complacency over the social situation which so recently was the prevailing temper of our people? Economic discussion and the debate of radical social solutions absorb the attention of the country, and are the preponderating topics of serious conversations. Economic papers have the precedence in our periodicals, and, even in the purely literary magazine, they crowd the novel and the romance. Indeed, the novel with a sociological motive now sets the literary fashion, and a course in political economy has become necessary to write a successful love story.

It is not so much the increased volume of economic discussion

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that marks the social growth of Nationalism as the fact that its tone is chiefly given by the adherents of the new and humane schools of political economy which, until recently, had obtained but little hearing among us. Up to within a very few years the old school of political economy, although it had long before begun to fall into discredit in Europe, still held practically undisputed sway in America. To-day the new school, with its socialistic method and sympathies, is the school to which nearly all the young and rising professors of political economy belong. The definition of labor as "a commodity," would now endanger the position of an instructor in that science in any institution of learning which did not depend for its patronage upon a reputation for being behind the times. There are a few such yet despite the growth of Nationalism.

The full programme of Nationalism, involving the entire substitution of public for private conduct of all business, for the equal benefit of all, is not indeed advocated by any considerable number of economists or prominent writers. They discuss chiefly details of the general problem, but, in so far as they propose remedies, it is significant that they always take the form of state and national management of business. It would not probably be too strong a statement to say that the majority of the younger schools of political economists and economic writers on that subject now regard with favor state conduct of what they call "natural monopolies," that is to say, telegraphs, telephones, railroads, local-transit lines, water-works, municipal lighting, etc. "Natural monopolies" are distinguished by this school as businesses in which the conditions practically exclude competition. Owing to the progress of the trusts and syndicates, businesses not natural monopolies are rapidly being made artificial ones with the effect of equally excluding competition. If the economists of the "natural monopoly" school follow the logic of their method they are bound, in proportion as the progress of artificial monopolization abolishes their distinction, to become full-fledged Nationalists. I have no doubt they will soon be wholly with us, as in spirit and tendency they now are.

There is a great deal more that might be said of the recent and swiftly increasing movement of moral sentiment and scientific thought towards Nationalism, but the limits of my space compel me to pass on to the consideration of what has been accomplished

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in the field of politics and legislation within the four years since its rise as a definitive doctrine.

The immediate propositions of the Nationalists are on two lines. First the nationalization of inter-State business, and business in the products or service of which people in more than one State are interested. Second, the State management or municipalization of businesses purely local in their relations. In the former line the rise within two years of a third national political party, pledged to a large part of the immediate purposes of Nationalism, is certainly the most notable phenomenon. The People's Party was formed at Cincinnati on February 22, 1891, and ratified and indorsed at St. Louis, May 19, 1892, by a convention representing the great Farmers' Alliances, white and colored, of the West and South, and also the Knights of Labor and other artisans' organizations. The platform adopted at St. Louis as that on which the People's Party's Presidential candidates are to be nominated and supported by these allied organizations, demands nationalization of the issue of money, nationalization of banking by means of postal savings-banks for deposit and exchange, national ownership and operation of the telegraphs and telephones, national ownership and operation of the railroads, and declares the land with its natural resources the heritage of the nation.

Remember that this platform voices the enthusiastic convictions and determination of many million voters belonging to organizations which have already carried several State elections, and which, as now united, may carry in the Presidential election, as their opponents concede, four or five States, and, as they themselves expect, twice or thrice that number. If you would estimate the probable growth of Nationalism in the next six months, remember that during that period the demands of this platform and the arguments for them will be stated and reiterated weekly by the eight to ten hundred farmers' papers of the South and West, and dinned into their ears by regiments of orators. About half the farmers' weeklies of the West, it should be added, not only support the St. Louis platform, but take every occasion to declare that the adoption of the whole Nationalist plan, with the industrial republic as its consummation, is but a question of time. "Talk about Nationalism," said one brawny farmer at the St. Louis convention, "why, west of the Mississippi we are all Nationalists."

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In tracing the rise of this third party, it may be interesting to note that it was in the trans-Mississippi States, in the newly-admitted States and the Territories, and on the Pacific coast, where the People's Party now has its main strongholds, that the reception of "Looking Backward" was most general and enthusiastic. The growing economic distress in the great grain States had no doubt much to do with this readiness for a radical industrial solution, but the bold, adventurous temper of the people, perhaps, even more. To a race of pioneers which had hewn mighty States out of the wilderness and the desert within the lifetime of a generation, there was nothing to take the breath away in a proposal to reconstruct industry on new lines.

I have left myself little space wherein to speak of what has been done for Nationalism in the line of the municipalization of local businesses. The Nationalists of Boston and vicinity, in 1889, circulated petitions for the passage of a bill by the Legislature permitting municipalities to build and operate their own lighting plants, gas or electric. The bill failed in the Legislature of 1889–90, passing the House but being lost in the Senate. The Nationalists resumed the fight the next year on petitions bearing 13,000 names. The bill became a law after a bitter fight, in which the Nationalists, backed by the labor organizations and a strong popular sentiment, were opposed by a combination of the electric and gas companies representing $35,000,000 of capital.

Prior to that date, public lighting, although long a matter of course in Great Britain and Europe, was almost unknown in America; a striking illustration, by the way, of the incomprehensible manner in which America has lagged behind monarchical and aristocratic states in the practical application of its own patented idea of popular government.

Up to the passage of the Municipal Lighting Bill in 1891 by the Massachusetts Legislature, less than a dozen American towns had tried public lighting, and few people had even heard of their experiment. In the one year since then, sixteen towns and cities in Massachusetts alone and as many in Ohio have taken steps towards public-lighting works, while a host of municipalities in the rest of the Union are following their example.

If the Nationalists had done nothing more than point out the way of deliverance from the gas-meter, they would surely have

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deserved well of the American people, but in doing that they have done more—they have set the people thinking along the line of municipal self-help.

The American citizen is not unintelligent as to questions of profit and loss. Give him the A B C of a business proposition and he can usually be trusted to go through the alphabet without further assistance. Once convince him that public-light service means, as a matter of demonstration and experience, as it does, a saving to the consumer of from 30 to 50 per cent., and he will commence to scratch his head and ask why the same rule doesn't apply to water-works and transit systems.

By turning over such functions to private companies aiming only at the largest possible profits, instead of discharging them directly, cities and towns subject themselves to a needless tax, aggregating more, in many cases, than the total tax levy for nominally public purposes, as if, indeed, any purpose could be more public than lighting, water supply, and transit. Wherever a private company can make a profit on serving the community (leaving aside watered stock) the people themselves, who take no profit from themselves, can do it just so much cheaper. All we Nationalists want to do is to get people to reason along the line of their collective interests with the same shrewdness they show in pursuing their personal interests. That habit once established, Nationalism is inevitable.

EDWARD BELLAMY.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

COLLEGE REPUBLICANS.

THE entrance of the college into politics is a feature of the Presidential campaign of 1892. The political club, however, is not a novelty in student life, nor is the organization of Republican clubs in American colleges without precedent. Hardly a campaign has passed without this sign of the interest of college students in political affairs. Formerly these clubs were organized in a spirit of fun, simply for the pleasure they afforded those who marched in torch-light processions or attended meetings held under their auspices. This year they have been formed with a more serious purpose: the students have come to realize that college thought and educated sentiment are yearly becoming a more important influence upon public opinion. As representatives of this sentiment, the attitude of college men is of some consequence. Hundreds of young men who do not go to college share, nevertheless, the college opinions and prejudices. The college graduate enjoys the reputation of being well informed on the important questions of the day, and his convictions are often of considerable weight to voters who have not enjoyed his opportunities for study. With this thought and with the purpose to extend and strengthen the principles of the party within as well as without the colleges, students have formed Republican clubs. On the 17th of May an intercollegiate convention was held at the University of Michigan, at which further organization of Republican clubs was perfected and plans adopted for active participation in the coming campaign.

These clubs will hold public meetings at which prominent men of the party will address the students on the issues of the campaign. Incidentally the members will take an active part in speaking and organizing throughout the country during the summer and fall. The political campaign has become a contest of reason, and the election an education in intelligent judgment. To no one are the problems of the currency, commerce, and government of more interest than to the student. It is natural that he should be interested in their serious consideration, and participate in the important work of their solution. Surely at no time are men more ready to listen with fairness to the exponents of the principles of both parties, and give a decision freer from selfish interest or less biassed by party prejudices, than when they are enjoying the freedom of college life. Party fealty is never weaker nor political ambition less blinding than then.

This activity of college Republicans has been the subject of criticism by the Democratic press. It is said that such organization of college students is a novelty. They doubtless have forgotten the part which Harvard University took in Massachusetts politics in the campaign of 1888. On the eve of the last Presidential election the persistent effort for four years to show

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that the best thought at Harvard University was Democratic culminated in the formation of a Democratic Club at Harvard, which held a mass meeting in Boston. It was there represented that the great majority of students sympathized with a movement to which they were either entirely indifferent or directly opposed. It was then that Harvard's better self realized that it could not afford to allow a few of the prominent graduates who had become disaffected from the Republican party to misrepresent the great majority of students and graduates. This large majority who had been placed in a false position resolved that if the college was to be dragged into politics it should be at least fairly represented. On November 2, 1888, there was held in Tremont Temple a Republican mass meeting which left little doubt as to the political preferences of Harvard University. At the present time a Democratic organization exists in the college which antedates the Harvard Republican Club by several years. College political clubs are not as new as the Democracy would have us think.

Our political opponents say that the college Republican clubs are a confession of the weakness of the Republican party, which they assert is in need of their aid. The students, however, are not organizing because the Republican party needs them. Their interest as young voters in the coming election is a sufficient incentive. That more than two-thirds of them are voters appears plainly from the college records. The average age of entrance at Harvard is something over nineteen years. There are 2,658 students in the University this year. Deducting from this number those in the Freshman and Sophomore years and half those classed as special students we have left 1,800 students, who in all probability are old enough to register as voters next November. Now, is there any reason why these 1,800 students should not feel as much interest in the coming election as an equal number of voters outside the college walls? An eminent Harvard professor remarked the other day: "It is the glory of the Republican party that it interests the young men." It is a sign of strength to be able to count a large majority of those who think in support of a party which believes in the principle of protection to those who work.

Perhaps no more absurd criticism has been made than that the organization of college Republican clubs is a shrewd move of the party leaders. I cannot speak definitely of other college Republican clubs, but I know that the Harvard Republican Club, the largest political college organization, was formed entirely by members of the University, independently of any party leaders or of any outside influence. For the formation, management, and the support of this club the students alone are responsible; I have no doubt this is so in other colleges. Our purpose, we are told by the writer of one attack upon us, is "to counteract the natural result of education." I presume that the natural result referred to is a belief in Free Trade. It is not true that our colleges teach Free Trade. The instructors in Political Economy are not advocates either of free trade or of protection. They lay before the student the theories, principles, and facts, and then allow him to draw his own conclusions. They seek after the truth. Every intelligent student studies the arguments of text books, listens to the lectures, and then decides for himself. If party allegiance is indicative of his decision, the Republican party needs no counteracting influence to the natural result of education. Of the 1,619 students graduating in the classes of 1885–1892 inclusive, 1,430 have expressed their political preferences. Of these 712, or 49.8 per cent., have voted for the Republican party; 365, or 25.5 per cent., for the Democratic

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party; and 353, or 24.7 per cent., have been Independents. This goes to show that the believers in the party of free trade are outnumbered in the proportion of two to one. Such statistics show a remarkable lack of that "natural result of education" which our Democratic friends think we propose to counteract by our Republican Club. It is a popular impression that a vote of these same men taken several years after graduation would show still less of that heretical disloyalty to the Republican party which they would have us believe is the inevitable effect of education. Unfortunately I have no record of such a nature; but if it is fair to judge of the politics of Harvard alumni from the politics of those of them who have held prominent offices, the result would be still more satisfactory to us. For a careful examination of the roll of Harvard alumni shows that of 153 graduates who have held high office in the State and National Governments, 114 may fairly be classed as believers in the principles of the Republican party, and 39 in those of the Democratic party.

Below is a summary of offices held by Harvard graduates from 1789 to 1891. Some have held office more than once:

	Republican.	Democratic.		Republican.	Democratic.
President of the U. S....	2	0	U. S. Senators.....	23	6
Vice-President of the U. S.....	1	1	Congressmen.....	77	27
Cabinet Officers.....	10	5	Governors.....	13	6
Foreign Ministers.....	14	6	Total.....	140	51

Summary, 1856–1891:

	Republican.	Democratic.		Republican.	Democratic.
Cabinet Officers.....	4	2	Congressmen.....	16	8
Ministers.....	10	1	Governors.....	5	1
U. S. Senators.....	4	1			
Total.....				39	13

The last objection that I notice to the enlistment of college men in the ranks of the Republican party is that on account of their youth. Our Democratic friends characterize it as an attempt to "rob the cradle"! Such a criticism lacks none of the humor of sarcasm, coming as it does from a party whose recent success in Massachusetts is due to leaders whose youth has evidently been no serious disqualification. The jewel of consistency does not seem to glitter in the crown of the young Democracy. In answer one need only point to two of Harvard's youngest alumni, the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt and the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge.

JOHN LOCKWOOD DODGE,
President of the Harvard Republican Club.

THE DECADENCE OF DICKENS.

MISS THACKERAY, in that indolently charming work of hers, "A Book of Sibyls," tells how a luncheon party of six, in one of the suburbs of London—"Old Kensington," it may be conjectured—talked about Jane Austen one day, and how every member of the company, save a French gentleman who knew not English, understood a chance allusion to Selina and Maple Grove. Without insisting upon Selina to the possible mortification of any readers, except to inform the uninitiated that, like Mrs. Harris and Anthony White, she was heard of but never seen, I venture to doubt whether the author of

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the most famous of these three unseen characters would be found equally familiar to a company of six well-read persons under the age of thirty-five. I speak by the card, for the elaborate new edition of Dickens, with prefaces, and the recent revivals at American theatres of plays founded upon the novels, have re-stimulated discussion of the great writer whose fame was noisier than that of any other English novelist since Walter Scott. And the other evening "at a little dinner, not more than the muses, with all the guests clever"—or moderately clever—"and some of them pretty,"—a condition of things which, according to the late Lord Beaconsfield, "offers human life and human nature under very favorable circumstances"—at a little dinner such as this, transacted in a town whose culture has acquired the triteness of a proverb, and by persons of whom none had reached the age of thirty-five, the subject of Dickens' novels was very thoroughly discussed. Two of the company, a man and a woman whose researches in literature had carried them more into the domain of French than of English fiction, owned to never having read one of the series. Everybody else, however, had read at least "David Copperfield," "The Pickwick Papers," "Dombey and Son," and portions of the Christmas books; but this experience had come to most of them in childhood; they had not refreshed their recollections, and they betrayed little or no consciousness of the details, either humorous or pathetic, of the volumes named. One *femme de trente ans* showed a better knowledge of a number of the novels, including "Our Mutual Friend," "Bleak House," and "The Old Curiosity Shop," but this lady was in the condition of mind most hopeless to the true lover of Dickens of regarding "A Tale of Two Cities" as his masterpiece.

Not to be tedious in reporting the shortcomings of a worshipful company, by no means without accomplishments of their own, it is interesting to record (interesting is a word much used in their town) that the consideration of Dickens at last narrowed itself down to "Dombey and Son," apropos of a new adaptation which had lately been seen on the stage by several of the diners. This novel was then accepted as a test, and a man whose dreadful business it is to know all novels past and present, and to keep his weather eye out for those to come, drew up the following examination-paper after the ladies had left the table, and when the friends—for they are friends—had reassembled, they addressed themselves with some zeal and a good deal of humor to the revelation of one another's ignorance in this little game of ten questions:—

1. How many times, by actual computation, does Joey B. announce himself as "de-vilish sly?" 2. Give a brief description of Mrs. Pipchin. 3. On what occasion did Mrs. Blimber declare that if she "could have known Cicero, and been his friend, and talked with him in his retirement at Tusculum (beau-ti ful Tusculum!)", she "could have died contented?" 4. Who suggested to the first Mrs. Dombey that she should "make an effort?" 5. What were the last words of little Paul? 6. Comment on (a) "Cleopatra," giving her real name; (b) Biler, giving his mother's assumed name; (c) The Wooden Midshipman. 7. Characterize the Game Chicken and the Tutbury Pet. 8. Analyze the effect of one or both on the career of Mr. Toots. 9. State the relationship (if any) between Toots and the Toodles. 10. Have you anything to say of the Nobby Shropshire One?

"State the relationship, if any, between the novels of Charles Dickens and real life," was proposed by the man-whose-business-it-is-to-know, as an alternative tenth question for pupils who had answered the preceding nine

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questions successfully; but as only one pupil—a man—passed *cum laude*, and as even he planted himself firmly on the end of the century, and refused to consider for a moment such a proposition as the possible reality of Dickens, his unreality was tacitly admitted. Yet this tentative little examination-paper showed at least the unwieldiness, the prodigality, which belongs only to genius, the grotesque humor, and lastly and chiefly the wealth of minor characters even in one of the less good of Dickens's novels. For of all the persons and personages of "Dombey and Son" named therein—and the same might be said of more than twice as many more—not one, with the single exception of Toots, is to be found in Mr. Rose's dramatization of the novel.

It would be too hasty and too empirical to base on the true story of the defeated dinner-party the conclusion that the author of "Pickwick" is not read by the more cultivated younger people of to-day, but other straws are not lacking to show the direction of the wind. Mr. Howells frankly declares that Dickens is antiquated and impossible; and the other day an undergraduate of Harvard, on being asked whether he had read "Pendennis," answered in absolute good faith: "No, I haven't read any of Dickens yet, but I mean to." Mr. Howells ought to bestow a realistic, not to say a real, medal on a young scholar who could thus, in one direct, two-edged sentence, give the cut direct to both Thackeray and Dickens. Jane, the present writer is credibly informed by this same Harvard junior—who, however, does not trouble himself more with "Emma" or "Pride and Prejudice" than with "Pendennis," but dotes instead on Rider Haggard—Jane triumphs over Dickens at Cambridge; and the whirligig of time brings in Miss Jenkyns's revenge. Her last years, as we all know, were embittered by Captain Brown's insane enthusiasm for young Mr. Dickens, then just coming into vogue, and by his preference for the interloper in literature over Dr. Johnson, whose "Rambler" was Miss Jenkyns's model of light reading. The Doctor and Mr. Boz are more evenly matched in these days, and the autocrat of Cranford, though she might not find the "Rambler" enjoying all the vogue to be desired, would rejoice in seeing "an elegant female" and a contemporary of her own hold the field against Captain Brown's upstart favorite at the most renowned seats of learning.

One other bit of testimony is worth record as a curiosity of literature. A man who teaches an humble branch of learning in the most admirable and successful of schools was instigated by the man-whose-business-it-is-to-know to inquire, on meeting his classes again after Easter, which of them enjoyed the acquaintance of Mrs. Blimber. She was unknown to each and all of thirty or more intelligent pupils, and not a ray of consciousness lighted any face when the teacher said: "Young ladies, let us resume our studies." It is scarcely probable that young gentlemen would have known better. The walls of the Tusculan villa are tottering, and there is but one hope for it, for Cicero, and for the accomplished consort of Dr. Blimber. This is the hope that Dickens may be made a fad. Thousands of people of docile tastes are now pretending to care for Miss Austen, and making the pretence plausible by a painful study of her works, simply because she is a fashion if not quite the fashion. The worthy Archdeacon Farrar, who is nothing if not literary, started the Browning boom on this continent. Will not another Captain Brown arise and boom Mr. Boz? If he will not, we may soon find in volumes of "extracts" and "selections" all that the public cares to know of Charles Dickens. And Gamp and Prig, Swiveller and the Marchioness, poor Jo and little Paul, Mr. Pickwick and

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Sam Weller and David Copperfield, will appear in a detached fashion side by side with my Uncle Toby and Corporal Lefevre, poor Maria, and the starling that couldn't get out, while "Martin Chuzzlewit," "The Pickwick Papers," and "The Old Curiosity Shop," move slowly but surely towards the oblivion that has long since swallowed up "Tristram Shandy" and "A Sentimental Journey,"—the oblivion of books which no gentleman's library should be without. Whether Dickens's place in those shadowy ranks is as secure as Sterne's it is too soon to predict.

CHARLES TOWNSEND COPELAND.

WOMEN AS HUMAN BEINGS.

PEOPLE who recollect the woman's rights conventions of forty years ago have not forgotten how often the rallying-cry of these was "The Divine Right of Woman to Possess Herself."

To-day she is in full and undisputed possession of the coveted object. For good or for evil her individuality is her own. If ignorance or prejudice peeps or mutters from the dust, the remonstrance is as little heeded by her in her stately march as the chirp of a cricket or the writhing of a maimed beetle.

In this new day—the era of the coming woman, and of the woman who has come—due praise has not been awarded to the magnanimity of the men through whose graceful renunciation of preconceived ideas we have entered into the kingdom which was once held as exclusively theirs. Every door at which we have knocked has been unbolted, and courtesy that honors our common humanity has awaited us upon the threshold. More men are, in this year of Our Lord, 1892, willing to share the responsibility of suffrage with women than there are women who are willing and ready to accept the franchise. Protest against and jeremiads over the wrongs of women in the last decade of our century may rank with the tears shed by Mark Twain at the tomb of Adam. To the impartial observer, organization for armed defence against renewed tyranny would seem as senseless as Ku-Klux meetings in rural Delaware or Massachusetts.

Opposed to this array of evidence that the war is over, we have the fact that never before in the history of woman's emancipation, or of the world, have associations for the advancement of the sex—*as such*—been so rife as now. Women's corporations for every conceivable purpose—commercial, educational, religious, social, philanthropic—increase and prevail until they threaten to cover the face of the earth. We asked of man oneness and equality, and he gave it—for room to work at his side and upon his level, and he kept not back. Instead of falling into step with him, we strain ingenuity to demonstrate our unlikeness to him, and we accentuate the accident of sex until we make sex into a species. That our big brother, in surveying all this, is not betrayed into wicked gibes in the which Jeshurun might come well to the front, is referable to fear, to amazement—or to the finer attribute mentioned just now.

Our admitted claim that there is no sex in intellect is vitiated by our insistence upon feminine achievements in the realm of science and art as phenomenal. When a woman paints a picture, or sings a song, or plants an orange-grove, or opens a haberdashery, or endows a professorship, the act

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is catalogued among feats for the admiration of the public. "See of what a manumitted serf is capable!" is the tone, if not the language of such advertisement.

Every daily newspaper has a woman's page,—a paddock safe and clean, about which imagination constructs a fence upon the principle commended to his hired man by the thrifty Scotchman: "Use but one rail, but let that be sae high th' cawves canna loup ower it, and sae low that they canna stoop under it." Of the making of women's journals and magazines there is no end, and likely to be none. These are usually close corporations,—written by women, edited by women, and once in a good many whiles published by women. Upon the subscription books the names of men sustain in numbers the same relation to those prefixed by "Miss" or "Mrs." that bread held to sack in Falstaff's memorandum. The choice of topics is restricted to such as bear directly upon the progress of one sex; the quality of the pabulum offered for mental digestion is warranted wholesome, but the word is open to criticism if an element of wholesomeness be the power to create intellectual brawn and moral backbone.

Let me guard what may be mistaken for sneering hypercriticism by saying that, as trade-journals, each of the legion of domestic organs devoted to the housewife, the housekeeper and the like, has in its sphere and uses a *raison d'être* as excellent as that of *The Consumer's Journal*, or *The Wheelman*, or *Outing*. It is in the realm of general literature that the distinction of sex becomes invidious. It is when gender begs the question of praise or patronage that unfairness verges upon injustice. There is, for example, no more reason why Mrs. Jones of the corner-grocery should demand custom by virtue of her sex than that Mr. Smith, on the next block, should attract trade because of a slight limp, or Mr. Robinson, across the way, because he is a married man. Each should be judged by the quality of what he offers for sale, and by his diligence in business.

Woman—with a capital letter—should by now have ceased to be a specialty. There should be no more need of "movements" in her behalf, and agitations for her advancement and development considered apart from the general good of mankind, than for the abolition of negro slavery in the United States. "For what a man"—and presumably a woman—"hath, doth he yet seek after?" With the world of knowledge and opportunity thrown open to her, it argues little for her ambition and less for her ability to grasp cardinal principles that she elects to build fences about her reservation, and expends time and forces in patrolling precincts nobody cares to attack. "I am glad the question for discussion to-day does not contain the word 'woman,'" said a member of a celebrated literary club. "I am aweary of the pretentious dissyllable, and satiated with incessant twaddle of 'woman's progress,' 'woman's work for woman,' and the ninety-and-nine variations upon the one string. By this time we ought to be *there* if we are ever to arrive. I am half-sick of womanhood! I want to be a human being."

A glance at the schedule of topics brought up for debate in like organizations in every township and city will justify the stricture.

(Is it a digression here to note that the Woman's Building at the Columbian Exposition is to be as distinctly separate from those in which the products of masculine brains and skill are exhibited as if what is therein collected had been sent by an alien people across the sea?)

The "pull-all-together" that climaxes the three essentials to success in

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any emprise is indispensable in the upward toil of humanity towards the highest ideals.

> "You in your small corner,
> And I in mine,"

while well enough in the nursery jingle, is the extreme of puerility when applied to grown-up Christians.

Can it be—as is sometimes slyly insinuated—that the stock in trade of the pioneers in the "movement" having been distrust of the other sex, their occupation would be gone were we to deny them the harmless tilt at windmills in dust of their own raising? Has the habit of girding at our limitations in the shape of iniquitous laws and social prejudice grown so strong with the centuries that we are incapable of perceiving our altered status? In an age when we can make, keep, lose, and bequeath money as freely as our fathers and husbands; when we can be educated in the same university with our brothers; can practise medicine, law and theology; fill chairs of philosophy and literature; and travel alone and respected around the globe—our swaddling-bands are of our own making.

Is the fault in all this inherent in the texture and conditions of the feminine mind? It is scarcely a slur upon our sex to say that affection and ideality combine to shorten our views of certain fields of thought and action. Present a philanthropic scheme to a woman, and she forthwith sees in it her especial *protégé* of orphan, widow, or drunkard. The abstract is less to her than empty air. If she cannot lay hold of a ready-made concrete, she forms one, and takes it to her heart rather than to her head. It is altogether possible that women love women so loyally as to recognize in whatever tends to elevate humankind but another round in the ladder lately set up from earth to heaven for their feet. In politics they would be State-rights partisans instead of patriots.

A witty philanthropist said the other day that she was bound upon a mission to the neglected rich, not to the petted poor. Perhaps our appeal for a broader humanity on the part of those whose influence upon the morals and religion of the nation cannot be overestimated, might, in the like spirit, be made in behalf of our brethren and companions according to the flesh. A cogent argument of advanced thinkers who contend for higher education and political privileges for women is that she will ennoble and purify coarser natures; she is to introduce into the college the amenities of polite society; at the polls her presence will be the latter-day Una to the lion of party passion. With intellect trained to grapple with problems that tax men's best powers, she will bring her subtle intuitions to the logician's aid; the scimitar will second the cleaver's blow. Their studies and their aims will be identical; their union will accomplish the apotheosis of humanity.

With chivalry learned in an earlier, and our progressive women say a ruder age, our brothers have, in opening our ranks to us as fellow-laborers in the world's redemption, acknowledged their need of us, and proved their faith in our pledges of coöperation.

Radical and conservative may well deliberate together upon such presages of the promised millenium as are offered by segregations that in tone and purpose remind the satirist of labor-unions and strikes rather than of dignified association for the elevation of a race whose destiny should be as much to women as to men.

MARION HARLAND.

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A TOO-LONG VACATION.

Not too long is vacation for the doctor, lawyer, editor, book-keeper, clerk, seamstress, or candlestick-maker. Those precious two weeks which are the standard period of annual rest for many hard workers, are altogether too short. But the thirteen weeks which represent the normal Summer vacation in college and school are long, altogether too long, for student and teacher.

The college student suffers from so long a vacation through the loss of interest in his college work. Of course he forgets his learning; this is to be expected, even desired in certain respects; but, also and more, he becomes diverted. His attention is for a whole quarter of the year directed to pursuits other than scholarly. His attention is also distracted, divided among a score of objects, frivolous, serious, wise, foolish. The influences which touch him cease to be academic, and become social and commercial. He enters into a life quite unlike his college life—which may of itself be an advantage—but of this life he does not become a vital part, which is a disadvantage. The ordering of his days becomes a disorder. His discipline is broken. He feels himself to be on a vacation, and vacation is usually intellectual vacuity. If he is obliged, through parental command or through poverty, to take up regular work a larger part of the time, he should be grateful, and he finally will be. But if he is permitted to do whatever fancy leads him to, as he too frequently is permitted, he usually does nothing though trying to do a bit of everything, reading, writing, fishing, boating, and sharing in other diversions. The vacation becomes dissipation—moral, intellectual. Forces that are needed in college are not recruited. Hardihood, endurance, concentration, pluck, grit, are not nursed through so long a period of inactivity. Laziness is the direct result of summer listlessness. Recreation does not become recreation. The student thinks himself to be in the garden of the lotos, and eating the lotos does not make a vigorous brain. The daily newspaper is the strongest regular intellectual fare; the hardest writing he does is acceptance of invitations; and the severest physical work playing tennis.

Much in all these endeavors is admirable. If such a life the reading student could have for a month, it were well, but to stretch out these methods over at least three months is not well. The proportions are bad. Resting is one thing, and a very good thing, but resting prolonged becomes rusting. Rusting eats the tool not used. Students, like tools, lose as much by August rest as by February wear. Let every student have all the rest, recreation, diversion, amusement required for keeping his forces in the finest condition; but he does not need one-quarter of a year. A healthy student, and such as I constantly have in mind, can get as much vigor out of two months as out of three. Eight weeks in the woods will give all necessary power quite as well as thirteen. Eight weeks in the dissipating and charming enjoyments of society are better than thirteen for his college arms. A short vacation is better for a tired and healthy man than more, than a long one spent in laborious diversions.

We are trying to find a way in which college men can begin their professional career before the age of twenty-seven. "Shortening the college course" is a bad method for securing this aim. The college course is none too long, but the vacation is too long. Each student spends more than one year of his four years in vacations. He cannot afford to spend so long a time. The college period is the only period of his life when he finds so long

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a period of rest necessary. For the young editor or merchant, minister or lawyer, thus to rest would prove professional suicide, or rather still-birth. By transferring five weeks from the vacation to the working period of the college, and by a little extra work, we might cut the college course to three years, without a serious shortening of the time spent in study, and also without any depreciation of the worthiness of the course itself.

The evils of the long vacation are more conspicuous in pupils of the common schools than in college students. These pupils are of the common people. More of them have parents whose purses are small than parents whose bank accounts are large. They spend their summers at home. They indulge in no outings more expensive or more prolonged than a visit to "Aunt Jane's" for a fortnight. They dwell in cities large and small, in villages large and small, and in rural desolations. But wherever they dwell, under ordinary conditions, the long vacation is no more recreative to jaded energy than a short vacation, and it is far more fraught with physical and ethical perils. Lawlessness is the general condition of boys in vacation. Every wharf and mill-pond becomes more dreadful to every parent. Apples and melons need a closer watch. They are no more inclined to "read" in the summer than our college men, and are possibly less inclined to find their happiness in harmless pleasures. They become juvenile Bohemians. They return to their books in the middle of September, not with an appetite whetted by proper abstinence, but with a distaste created by a barbarian life. Every teacher knows that at least a month is required to restore her classes to as good a working condition as was theirs at the close of school in June.

I might stop here. For I have said what I wanted to say as to a too-long vacation for students. The long vacation can hardly be called too long for teachers. No class of professional laborers are more laborious, none more deserving of long periods of rest, than the teachers; and of all teachers those in the public school are most laborious and most deserving. The hours spent daily in the class-room are many,—not infrequently as many as a college professor spends in his class-room in a whole week,—and each hour is exhaustive of every form of personal energy in its severity and variety of duties. The school work which is to be done at home is considerable, especially the reading of examination papers—that bane of all teachers' lives. Their need of a long vacation is serious, yet many of them would confess that nine weeks of rest would prove to be as restful as thirteen.

For the ordinary professor of the ordinary college the vacation is too long. He has no greater need than the student of spending at least one-quarter and often one-third of the year to keep himself vigorous for working the remaining period. But, it is to be said, that to many teachers in the colleges the vacation is the occasion for doing work other and harder than that of the college routine. The reading or the writing of books or the preparation of special papers represent labors which college professors are constantly doing. I notice in particular that the professors of the natural sciences are much inclined to spend their summer in their laboratories making experiments which the broken days of the college year do not easily permit.

CHARLES F. THWING.

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